

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
BERKELEY SECTION

39/07.04

AUGUST 1997

REBOLUSYON

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

**LENIN AND STALIN ON THE RELATIONSHIP
OF DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS
IN COLONIAL AND SEMICOLONIAL COUNTRIES**

**PERSPECTIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN COUNTRIES
OPPRESSED BY IMPERIALISM**

**COMPLETE THE RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT,
CONSOLIDATE AND EXPAND THE REVOLUTIONARY
MOVEMENT IN MANILA-RIZAL, AND CHANNEL SUPPORT
TO THE COUNTRYSIDE**

**THE SECOND GREAT RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT
CONTINUES TO DEEPEN IN VIQ**

**Number 3
Series 1997
July-September
*English Edition***

Number 3
Series 1997
July-September
English Edition

CONTENTS

**LENIN AND STALIN ON THE RELATIONSHIP
OF DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS
IN COLONIAL AND SEMICOLONIAL COUNTRIES 1**

By Jose Maria Sison
Founding Chairman
Communist Party of the Philippines

**PERSPECTIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE
FOR LIBERATION IN COUNTRIES OPPRESSED BY IMPERIALISM 30**

By Jose Maria Sison
18 May 1997

**COMPLETE THE RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT, CONSOLIDATE
AND EXPAND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
IN MANILA-RIZAL, AND CHANNEL SUPPORT TO THE COUNTRYSIDE 39**

**Communique of the Expanded Meeting of the Provisional Executive
Committee of the Manila-Rizal Party Committee on the Assessment
of the Second Great Rectification Movement**

**THE SECOND GREAT RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT
CONTINUES TO DEEPEN IN VIQ 64**

**Communique of the Executive Committee
of the VIQ Regional Party Committee**
April 1997

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

Published by the Central Publishing House, Luzon, Philippines

LENIN AND STALIN ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS IN COLONIAL AND SEMICOLONIAL COUNTRIES¹

**By Jose Maria Sison
Founding Chairman
Communist Party of the Philippines**

This presentation covers the teachings of Lenin on the two stages of the Russian revolution, the implementation of these teachings by Lenin and Stalin, the extension and further development of these in colonies and semicolonies, the violation of these by the modern revisionists and the continuing validity of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of the two stages

I. Introduction

Colonial and semicolonial countries have large survivals of feudalism. Thus, they are susceptible to imperialist domination. In countries where feudalism or semifeudalism reigns, there is categorically the need for a bourgeois-democratic revolution before there can be a socialist revolution. This is mainly in terms of taking into account the socioeconomic conditions in the revolutionary process and, as a matter of course, the antidemocratic character of the counterrevolutionary state.

Where there is a certain degree of industrial capitalist development as in the case of Germany during the time of Marx in 1856

¹ Contribution to the 1997 Brussels International Seminar sponsored by the Workers' Party of Belgium on May 2-4, in advance celebration of the 80th anniversary of the great October Revolution in the Soviet Union. This was the main report on Lenin and Stalin and on the relationship of the democratic and socialist revolution in colonies and semicolonies.

or Russia during the time of Lenin in 1917 or due to imperialist domination as in the case of colonies and semicolonies, the industrial proletariat must forge an alliance with the peasantry to carry out an uninterrupted revolution from the stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution to that of socialist revolution.

At the end of the 1840s, Marx put forward the thesis of such an uninterrupted revolution in the "Address to the Communist League"; and subsequently pointed out the necessity of combining the peasant revolutionary movement with the proletarian revolution in a letter to Engels in 1856 by stating: "the whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution, by some second edition of the Peasant War."

The foregoing ideas of Marx were neither developed in the subsequent works of Marx and Engels nor in the works of the theoreticians of the Second International and the West European social-democratic parties. The latter did their utmost to bury the ideas of Marx connecting the bourgeois-democratic revolution with the socialist revolution. They became obsessed with the Eurocentric notion of waiting for the industrial proletariat to become the majority of the population as the precondition to socialist revolution anywhere. They also took it for granted that after the bourgeois revolution the peasant masses would betray the revolution and a long "lull" of fifty or a hundred years would follow during which the proletariat would be "peacefully" and "lawfully" exploited by the bourgeoisie until the time came for the socialist revolution.

Lenin brought to light the forgotten ideas of Marx. He did not merely repeat them but developed them further. He molded them into a harmonious theory of socialist revolution by regarding the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry and other semiproletarian elements of town and country as an indispensable factor of socialist revolution and as a condition for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

Lenin guided the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party in London in April 1905, to differentiate the Bolsheviks from the Mensheviks, on the basic tactics and line of class leadership of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic and socialist stages of the Russian revolution and the necessity of the worker-peasant alliance. In their own rump congress, the Mensheviks conceded to the bourgeoisie the class leadership in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and wanted the proletariat to be a mere appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie and a mere beggar of economic reforms in the course of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Subsequently, in June and July 1905, Lenin wrote *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* to clarify in a comprehensive, profound and thoroughgoing manner the bourgeois-democratic and socialist stages of the revolution and set forth the tactics of continuous proletarian class leadership through its revolutionary party, the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, the armed uprising for seizing political power, the provisional revolutionary government, the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, the confiscation of land from the landlords and the realization of the 8-hour day and other immediate demands of the working class.

Stalin immediately and consistently followed the Leninist theory and tactics of revolution, with such works as: "Armed Insurrection and Our Tactics", "The Provisional Revolutionary Government and Social Democracy" (1905), "Two Clashes," "The Present Situation and the Unity Congress of the Workers' Party" (1906), Preface to the Georgian edition of Karl Kautsky's Pamphlet, "The Driving Forces and Prospects of the Russian Revolution" (February 1907).

II. The Precision of Lenin's Work

Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* was precise in applying Marxism on the concrete conditions of Russia. It served as the programmatic guide of the Bolsheviks and the proletariat for the entire period from 1905 to their victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917.

Within that period, Russia could be correctly described in several ways. It was a military-feudal imperialist power, especially in relation to the many nationalities that it oppressed and exploited. It had a few industrial enclaves, surrounded by an ocean of feudalism and medievalism. It could produce industrial fuel and basic metals and chemicals but not machine tools and was therefore a weak capitalist country. It was a semicolony of British, French and Belgian imperialism which provided the finance capital and capital equipment for the exploitation of the proletariat and the people.

The industrial proletariat was a minority of the population and could not make revolution of any kind without the alliance with the small peasantry and other semiproletarian masses who composed the overwhelming majority of the people. It could not aim for the socialist revolution without passing through the bourgeois-democratic revolution and without seizing the initiative and leadership of the revolution from the liberal bourgeoisie who acted as the agents of the big bourgeoisie and who courted the support of the peasantry. The wisdom of Lenin was to declare forthrightly that the proletariat was to seize the leadership of the bourgeois-democratic revolution so that this could pass on to the socialist revolution.

It was of decisive importance to define the basic tactics of the Bolsheviks and the proletariat because the Russian situation and the Russian revolution were complex and they were confronted with several types of opponents: the tsarist autocracy, the big bourgeoisie, the liberal bourgeoisie and the opportunists in the

Russian Social-Democratic Party and the "socialist revolutionary" descendants of the Narodniks.

The tsarist autocracy, together with the landed aristocracy, blew hot and cold in countering the revolution, at one time pretending to make reforms and at another time unabashedly escalating brutal reaction. The big bourgeoisie used the liberal bourgeoisie, the constitutional democrats, in an attempt to outwit the Bolsheviks and dupe the people with the proposal of a constitutional monarchy and bourgeois-democratic reforms.

At the same time, there were the opportunists, the Mensheviks, who were avowedly for the overthrow of tsarism but who were open to compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie and who posed as Marxists but who wished the liberal bourgeoisie to lead the bourgeois-democratic revolution and make the proletariat its subsidiary. Further, there were the petty-bourgeois socialist revolutionaries, who advocated a populist supraclass kind of socialism and who were deeply hostile to the Bolsheviks and the proletariat.

While conducting ideological and political struggle against the Mensheviks, Lenin also resolutely conducted a parallel struggle against the opportunists and revisionists of other parties in the Second International on a comprehensive range of issues pertaining to imperialism and the proletarian revolution. He combated Kautsky's theory of "ultra imperialism" and the social-imperialist, social-chauvinist and social-pacifist position of the social-democratic parties, which collaborated with the blatantly bourgeois parties in supporting imperialism, increasing the war budget and the like.

The bankruptcy of the social democratic parties became exposed upon the outbreak of World War I. Lenin's description of imperialism as the eve of socialist revolution and his call to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war rang loud and clear. In 1916, he wrote *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* to consolidate his theory on imperialism and proletarian

revolution. This work reinforced his *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. Unfolding the theory of uneven development, he demonstrated that Russia was ripe for armed revolution for carrying out the consequent stages of bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolution, both under the leadership of the proletariat.

In the process of making the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, there was basically an objective alliance of different political forces determined to overthrow tsarism, especially after it became culpable for the catastrophic involvement of Russia in World War I. The situation became undoubtedly ripe for armed revolution. At the same time, there was a life-and-death contest for hegemony in the revolution between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie had the initiative of forming the provisional revolutionary government under Kerensky. But Lenin recognized that there was already dual power in Russia, involving the power in the hands of the Kerensky regime and the other in the hands of the soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants' deputies.

He upheld the independence of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and called for winning over the majority of the soviets in order to make the bourgeois-democratic revolution pass on to the socialist revolution in October. The linkage of the soviets of workers' deputies with those of the soldiers' deputies under Bolshevik leadership meant the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry because most of the soldiers were peasants. And when the Bolsheviks were able to win the majority of the soviets of peasant deputies, they were ready for the armed uprisings. The fate of the Kerensky regime was sealed.

With the slogan of bread and peace, the Bolsheviks were able to seize the initiative and galvanize the masses as the Kerensky regime made grievous mistakes arising from its bourgeois class nature and its puppetry to the Western imperialist powers that

dictated the continued involvement of Russia in World War I. They resolutely and militantly led the proletariat and the people against such further involvement in the interimperialist war and against the threats posed by the diehard tsarist forces and the imperialists. They won political power by storming the urban centers of bourgeois political power.

Upon establishment of soviet power or the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin immediately issued a decree on nationalization of the land, involving the confiscation of land from the landlords for the benefit of the peasant masses. This was to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution and to fulfill the longrunning peasant demand for land in keeping with the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. This also laid the ground for the subsequent victories of the Bolshevik in more extensive and intensive armed struggle.

The Bolsheviks were determined to withdraw Russia from the interimperialist war and proceeded to forge the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty with Germany in order to gain a breathing spell and consolidate the victory of the revolution. But the imperialists and the local reactionaries were hell-bent on recovering their lost power in Russia and launched the war of foreign military intervention and civil war, from 1918 to 1920.

The armed struggle was carried out mainly in the countryside. The Bolsheviks could win because of the basic tactic of worker-peasant alliance. The overwhelming support of the peasantry enabled the Bolshevik party and the Red Army to trounce the imperialists and the local reactionaries. In viewing the Russian revolution, it is incorrect to separate and isolate the urban armed uprisings from the subsequent armed struggle in the countryside.

After the war, the Bolsheviks had to restore the economy as soon as possible. To continue with "war communism" would be untenable and intolerable, especially to the peasantry from whom a tremendous amount of supplies had been requisitioned for the

war effort. Thus, Lenin put forward the New Economic Policy (NEP) as a transitory measure, giving concessions even to the rich peasants, small traders and entrepreneurs, from 1921 onward. At the same time, the Bolsheviks continued to hold on to the commanding heights of the economy, the industries, the means of transport and communications, the banks and other major assets confiscated from the enemy.

After Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin assumed leadership of the Party, the state and the revolution. He comprehensively summed up and defended Leninism in his *Foundations of Leninism*, which was issued in the same year, against the anti-Leninist elements who had wished to take advantage of the illness and death of Lenin. This work defined Marxism-Leninism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

He continued to implement the NEP. He fought and defeated Trotsky and his ilk who wished to terminate it prematurely. The objective of these "Left" opportunist scoundrels was to break up the worker-peasant alliance, subject the peasantry to intolerable exploitation and fulfill their prophecy that socialism in the Soviet Union was impossible.

From 1926 onward, Stalin vigorously pushed the line of socialist industrialization and from 1930 onward, the collectivization of agriculture in conjunction with socialist industry. He fought and defeated Bukharin and his Right opportunist ilk who wished to indefinitely prolong the temporary concessions given to the rural and urban bourgeoisie under the NEP. The Bolsheviks aroused, organized and mobilized the masses of small peasants against the rich peasants who carried out sabotage and other forms of violent resistance.

Under the leadership of Stalin, the worker-peasant alliance among the various nationalities in the Soviet Union was maintained through varied phases and in varied conditions. The workers in socialist industry needed the food and raw materials and the

peasants in the collectives received in return the agricultural machinery, agrochemical and consumer manufactures from the workers. The dialectical interaction of the two toiling classes in a series of five-year plans created a powerful socialist economic base and superstructure.

III. The Two Stages in the Colonies and Semicolonies in the East

In tracing the historical course of the doctrine of Karl Marx in 1913, Lenin marked three periods: the first, from the revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune of 1871; the second, from the Paris Commune to the Russian Revolution of 1905, and the third, since the Russian revolution.

In the first period, the doctrine of Marx was proclaimed by the *Communist Manifesto*. It started out as only one of the numerous trends of socialism. The revolutionary storms revealed the various classes in action and established the fact that the proletariat alone could lead the socialist revolution. Bourgeois society took shape. Liberalism was exposed as a tool of reaction. Pre-Marxian utopian trends of socialism were swept away. Independent proletarian parties were born: the First International (1864-72) and the German Social-Democratic Party.

In the second period (1872-1904), there were generally no revolutionary storms in the West inasmuch as in the main it had finished with bourgeois revolutions. Socialist parties, basically proletarian, were organized on a wide scale. The Marxian doctrine spread and was so predominant in the working class movement that liberalism tried to revitalize itself in the form of socialist opportunism.

In the third period, the East opened up in a big way as the source of great revolutionary storms. The bourgeois democratic revolutions in Russia, Turkey, Persia and China broke out one after another. And may I point out that the pioneer of the

bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Asia was the Philippine revolution of 1896

Lenin criticized the opportunists for ceaselessly singing the praises of "social peace" and the nonnecessity of storms under "democracy" in the face of the revolutionary storms in Asia. He saw that the Asian revolutions were revealing the spinelessness and baseness of liberalism and at the same time the sharp demarcation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

At the same time, he saw the high cost of living and the oppression perpetrated by the trusts, engendering an intensification of the class struggle in Europe. He pointed to the feverish arming and the policy of imperialism turning the so-called social peace of Europe into a barrel of gunpowder more than anything else.

He recognized the growing importance of the East as the battlefield between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He pointed out the potential dialectical interaction between the revolutionary movement in the East and that in the West. He was on the road of extending and further developing Marxism of 19th century free-competition capitalism to the stage of Leninism in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The opportunists and revisionists of the Second International acted as the social chauvinist and social pacifist tail of the direct parliamentary agents of the monopoly bourgeoisie in exploiting the proletariat in Europe, in raising war budgets and in encouraging imperialist policy and projects. Kautsky's theory of ultra-imperialism went so far as to presume that imperialism is benign and progressive because it is supposed to break down precapitalist formations and open the way to capitalist development and the growth of the proletariat in colonies and semicolonies.

Lenin categorically described imperialism as moribund capitalism and as the eve of socialist revolution. He put forward the theory of uneven development in order to demonstrate that imperialism involves the spasmodic and uneven expansion of

capital and at the same time in a bigger way the destruction of productive forces in the wake of taking superprofits from the colonies, semicolonies and the dependent countries; and that where the oppression and exploitation is most intense on a wide scale revolutionary resistance arises. Thus, in addition to the call "Workers of all countries, unite!", he called on the oppressed peoples and nations to unite against imperialism and local reaction.

Under the theory of uneven development, Russia was the weakest link in the chain of imperialist countries and was where the proletarian revolution was most likely to win, provided the subjective forces were developed to take advantage of the ripening revolutionary situation. The economic and technological conditions in the stronger imperialist countries are more apt for socialism than those in the less-developed countries but their social and military power at home plus the superprofits taken from colonies and semicolonies provide the imperialists with more resources to preempt, crush or derail the proletarian revolution.

Lenin estimated that workers' uprisings in the West, especially in Germany would be helpful to the Russian revolution. But when these failed, he became even more determined to encourage the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the East and place them within the framework of the world proletarian revolution. Thus, soon after the victory of the October revolution, he proceeded to form the Third International in 1919 in order to promote the building of proletarian revolutionary parties in both the imperialist countries and the dominated countries.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Third International at a meeting of the Moscow soviet in 1920, Lenin said,

In the early period of the revolution many entertained the hope that the socialist revolution would begin in Western Europe immediately when the imperialist war ended; at the same time when the masses were armed there could have been a successful revolution in some of the Western countries as well.

It could have taken place had it not been for the split within the proletariat of Western Europe being deeper and the treachery of the former socialist leaders greater than had been imagined.

Lenin wrote the preliminary draft theses on the national and colonial questions and on the agrarian question for the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. At the Congress, he delivered the report on the national and colonial questions, where he made the following important points:

1. It is beyond doubt that any national movement can only be a bourgeois-democratic movement, since the overwhelming mass of the population in the backward countries consists of peasants who represent bourgeois-capitalist relations. It would be utopian to believe that proletarian parties in these backward countries, if indeed they can emerge from them, can pursue communist tactics and a communist policy, without establishing definite relations with the peasant movement and without giving it effective support.

2. It will readily be understood that peasants living in conditions of semifeudal dependence can easily assimilate and give effect to the idea of Soviet organization. It is also clear that the oppressed masses, those who are exploited, not only by merchant capital but also by the feudalists, and by a state based on feudalism, can apply this weapon, this type of organization, in their conditions too. The idea of Soviet organization is a simple one and is applicable, not only to proletarian, but also to peasant feudal and semifeudal relations.

3. The question was posed as follows: are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is to be seen since the war. We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic

propaganda among them, and the Soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal—in that event it will be erroneous to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development.

Trotsky betrayed the Bolshevik revolution by stubbornly seeking to make it dependent on the workers' uprisings in Germany and in other imperialist countries, and by being contemptible of the oppressed nations and peoples, especially the peasantry in Russia and other backward countries and by failing to understand and attacking the theory and practice of the two-stage revolution.

Faithful to the legacy of Lenin, Stalin stood forthrightly for socialism in one country, availing of every possible support not only from the proletariat in imperialist countries but also from the oppressed peoples and nations outside the imperialist countries. And he paid close attention to the work of the Third International.

The propagation of the two-stage revolution by Lenin and Stalin would bear abundant fruit in the form of people's democracies in Asia and Eastern Europe after World War II. The colonies and semicolonies proved to be the more fertile ground for the victory of the armed revolution led by the proletariat than in the imperialist countries.

The people's democracy in China was the most important of the revolutionary crop because of the huge population and size of the country and more importantly because here was to be seen the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to socialism and the heroic effort to consolidate socialism against revisionism and the danger of capitalist restoration. The Chinese revolution under Mao Zedong's leadership grew in importance as modern revisionism took hold of the Soviet Union starting in 1956.

IV. Further development of the two-stage revolution

The salvoes of the October Revolution and the work of the Third International inspired and caused the establishment of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1921. In leading the CPC and the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong learned from Lenin's theory and practice of the two-stage revolution under proletarian dictatorship and further developed it by making his own unique contributions.

He made concrete analysis of the concrete conditions of semicolonial and semifeudal China. He characterized the first stage of the Chinese revolution as bourgeois-democratic of the new type or new-democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

He identified the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class as the class enemy within Chinese society and, among the motive forces of the revolution, the proletariat as the leading class, the peasantry as the main force and the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation of the revolutionary united front.

To come to the second stage of the Chinese revolution, which is socialist, the new-democratic revolution must be basically completed through the nationwide armed overthrow of the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class and the establishment of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry which is at the core and in essence the class dictatorship of the proletariat.

Mao regarded the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war as the preparation for the socialist revolution. He pointed out that the new-democratic revolution was distinguishable from but continuous with the socialist revolution because both stages were led by the revolutionary proletariat and were within the framework of the world proletarian-socialist

revolution. As Lenin taught, he asserted that there was no need to pass the stage of capitalist development.

He repudiated the Trotskyite view, expressed most prominently by Chen Duxiu, the founding secretary of the Communist Party of China, that there was a separation of the bourgeois-democratic and socialist stages of the revolution and that the Chinese proletariat could only be an appendage of the Guomindang (GMD) because the proletariat was supposedly incapable of leading the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In fact, Chen Duxiu merged the CPP with the GMD and subordinated it to the latter in the 1924-27 period.

Mao pointed out that the proletariat could lead the bourgeois-democratic revolution and maintain its independence and initiative by strengthening itself ideologically, politically and organizationally as the advanced detachment of the proletariat; by having the peasantry for its main ally and by fulfilling the peasant demand for land as the main content of the democratic revolution. He was responsible for the establishment of the rural base areas, the first soviets of workers and peasants, which served the CPC in good stead after Chiang Kaishek's betrayal.

Regarding Party-building, Mao introduced the rectification campaign as the principle and method for confronting subjectivism, opportunism and other errors. He consistently espoused the line of trusting the masses, relying on them and mobilizing them as the way for carrying out and raising the revolutionary struggle from one level to a new and higher level.

He upheld the armed revolution as the main form of revolutionary struggle because the central task of the revolution is the seizure of political power. He was inspired by the declaration of Stalin that continuous armed struggle in China was an advantage of the Chinese revolution.

To this day, Mao is recognized as the master strategist and tactician with his theory and strategic line of people's war.

involving the encirclement of the cities from the countryside over a protracted period of time in order to accumulate strength through tactical offensives until sufficient strength is built to seize the cities on a nationwide scale.

This theory and strategic line integrates the armed struggle, the agrarian revolution and the building of political power and the mass base. Mao demonstrated that in the course of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the new type it was possible to respond to the peasant demand for land and to create Red political power based in the countryside even while the power of the reactionaries is still entrenched in the cities. In the Russian experience, dual political power arose only in the February revolution.

Mao made a continuous class analysis of Chinese society in accordance with Marxism-Leninism to guide Party building, the armed struggle and united front work. Insofar as it had the support of the peasant masses and had absolute leadership over the people's army, whichever was the main enemy at a given time, the CPC could maintain its independence and initiative and at the same time handle correctly its other allies and range the broadest possible united front to isolate and destroy the enemy.

After nationwide victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution under its leadership in 1949, the Chinese proletariat could commence the socialist revolution. The state that was established took the form of a people's democratic republic. At the core was the proletarian dictatorship. The main component of state power, the people's army, was under the absolute leadership of the proletariat through the CPC.

Mao basically followed the teachings and example of Lenin and Stalin in nationalizing the land and carrying out land reform as a bourgeois-democratic measure to satisfy the land hunger of the poor and lower middle peasants, in capturing the commanding heights of the economy for socialism by confiscating the productive assets of the imperialists and the domestic big

bourgeoisie and in adopting the transitory measures for reviving the war-ravaged economy and realizing the basic socialist transformation of the entire economy. Under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet Union assisted China.

In 1955 the peasants began to move towards cooperativization from the level of mutual aid teams. In 1956 the basic socialist transformation of the Chinese economy was accomplished. The Right opportunists and revisionists began overtly and covertly to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao.

They wanted to perpetuate the concessions previously granted to the patriotic bourgeoisie and rich peasants and opposed the restriction of bourgeois rights. They prated about the consolidation of the national-democratic revolution and yet self-contradictorily about the dying out of the class struggle. They insisted that the main contradiction was between the backward forces of production and the advanced relations of production and that socialist progress was simply a matter of promoting the forces of production.

Mao upheld the line of socialist revolution and construction. He pointed out that the main contradiction in socialist society is between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He followed Lenin's dictum that socialism would take a whole historical epoch and that the defeated bourgeoisie would continue to resist socialism in so many ways.

He defined the correct handling of contradictions among the people and those between the people and the enemy. Thus, the middle and petty-bourgeoisie as well as the rich peasants could be subordinated to the socialist policy of the state and violent counterrevolution could be averted. He also adopted the policy of making heavy and basic industries as the leading factor, agriculture as the basis of the economy and bridging the two with light industry in order to accelerate delivery of producer and consumer

goods to the peasant masses and thereby lighten their burden in the process of economic development.

He put forward the policy of the Great Leap Forward along the general line of socialist revolution and construction, involving "walking on two legs" and building the people's communes. The policy overcame the imperialist blockade, the natural calamities and the sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegades as well as the Bukharinite Right opportunist opposition and "Left" opportunist "communist wind".

Following the resounding success of the Great Leap Forward and bountiful harvests from the communes, Mao launched a counteroffensive against the Right opportunists. He stressed that the key link to grasp in the class struggle and directed the socialist education movement against the Party bureaucrats taking the capitalist road.

He made a comprehensive critique of modern revisionism and engaged the Soviet revisionist party in an ideological debate. Taking into account the phenomenon of modern revisionism and the two-line struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the bourgeois renegades within the CPC, he subsequently put forward the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism.

He put the theory into practice through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). This involved the all-round dialectical revolutionization of both the mode of production and the superstructure of socialist society.

It surpassed the widespread notion that dissolving the exploiting classes was merely a matter of doing so economically, legally and administratively and that building socialism was merely a matter of developing the productive forces and the technical expertise.

V. Antisocialist policy in agriculture

So far, in the history of the world proletarian revolution, socialism has arisen in countries where feudal and semifeudal relations in agriculture exist to a significant extent. The backward conditions in agriculture necessitate the bourgeois-democratic revolution, involving the completion of land reform and building the worker-peasant alliance. The question of social relations in agriculture is of fundamental importance in the transition from the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. Failure to complete land reform and advance from one stage of cooperativization to a higher one is fatal to the socialist revolution.

Excluded from the discussion are national liberation movements that were helpful to the anti-imperialist movement on a global scale but were essentially anticolonial, antiracist or antidespotic and came to power through neocolonial compromise or insurrection (e.g., several liberation fronts in Africa and the FSLN in Nicaragua) and confined themselves within the framework of an uncompleted bourgeois-democratic revolution of the old type. Some of them have not even tried to carry out genuine and thoroughgoing land reform and others have tried but have failed because of the lack of genuine proletarian class leadership and because of the failure to complement land reform with basic industrialization.

In all the people's democracies established after World War II, there was the debate between the proletarian revolutionaries and the Right opportunists concerning the social conditions and relations and the socialist path to be followed in agriculture. The teachings of Lenin and Stalin regarding measures of transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the socialist revolution in agriculture and collectivization of agriculture in connection with socialist industrialization guided the proletarian revolutionaries.

Tito of Yugoslavia, as pioneer of modern revisionism, abandoned land reform and collectivization in 1948 and allowed the rich peasants to persist. The question of agriculture was a pivot point for him in his overall antisocialist position of denying the necessity of central economic planning, atomizing the economy under the pretext of workers' self-management and raising the flag of bourgeois nationalism against the Cominform.

In most of the people's democracies in Eastern Europe, land reform and collectivization were either frustrated or delayed, reflecting the strength of the Right opportunist current in the ruling parties which were typically mergers of communists and social-democrats who posed overnight as communists. When modern revisionism prevailed in the Soviet Union and spread in Eastern Europe, starting in 1956, land reform and collectivization were either put off completely or tokens of these were undercut by the persistence of rich peasants, farm capitalists and merchants.

The revisionists in Eastern Europe underestimated the peasant question by leaving it as something to be solved automatically by the expansion of socialist industry and farm mechanization. Employment generated by socialist industry would supposedly dissolve the peasantry and only a small number of farm workers would supposedly be needed to operate the farms.

But long before the promise in their argument is realized, the revisionists also use the backward conditions in agriculture as the factual basis for their argument for the retention or revival of the capitalist law of value, for the bourgeois freedom of dealing with labor power and means of production as commodities and for all related notions and practices of so-called market socialism.

In the Soviet Union, Khrushchov's drive to undo the socialist work of Lenin and Stalin included undermining and discrediting socialist agriculture in a series of clever moves. As first secretary of the Party, he pushed Malenkov the prime minister to plant the wrong crops on vast areas in order to discredit the latter as

well as socialist agriculture. After taking all power into his hands, he broke the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. He dissolved the machine and tractor stations run by the proletariat, allowed the collectives to individually own, buy and sell farm machines and spare parts, expanded the private plots and the free markets and encouraged the reemergence of the rich peasants.

Soviet agriculture went into shambles before Khrushchov fell from power. This was one of the major reasons for his ouster. But his successors did not reverse his agricultural policy but continued to praise the supposedly higher productivity in the private plots than in the collective farms from which the rich peasants and free traders stole products.

With their "new economic system", Brezhnev and Kosygin expanded and aggravated the antisocialist policies initiated by Khrushchov in both industry and agriculture. The principal reason why Kremlinologists called the Brezhnev regime neo-Stalinist was that Brezhnev made a sham rehabilitation of Stalin and recentralized certain strategic industries to get revenues for the all-union bureaucracy and the arms race.

By the time Gorbachov came to power, the Soviet economy had become so depressed and bankrupted that he could easily disorganize and discredit it completely. He continued to misrepresent monopoly bureaucrat capitalism as socialism and moved towards his ultimate goal of open privatization of public productive assets. Finally, he called for "land reform" which meant the retrogression to private farming and the dissolution of state farms and collectives.

In a certain sense, the rise of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union in 1956 overtook the Chinese revolution. The right opportunists in the CPC became heavily influenced by Soviet revisionist ideas, including the economic ideas of the late Nicolai Voznesensky and E. Lieberman, because of the continuing close

Sino-Soviet relations then and the flow of Chinese students and trainees.

It is to the credit of Mao that he was able to stand up victoriously against Soviet modern revisionists and the domestic revisionists, who tried but failed to overthrow him, from 1956 to 1976. He was able to carry out socialist revolution and construction, build socialist industry and the people's communes, make a comprehensive critique and repudiation of modern revisionism and carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

But it should not be surprising that after his death his proletarian revolutionary line could be defeated. He himself was aware of the tremendous odds, involving the objective conditions and subjective factors. For him to move from one victory to another, he had to overcome the powerful opposition of the capitalist-roaders.

In Chinese agriculture, Mao put forward the line that agricultural cooperation could be realized, with mechanization progressively coming in as socialist industry could provide. The point was to preempt the further growth of the rural bourgeoisie, which had been tolerated in the period of transition. But Liu Xiaoqi pushed the Bukharinite rich peasant line that cooperativization should always be preceded by mechanization or else it should not be undertaken at all.

They fielded "work" teams to nitpick and dissolve the cooperatives initiated by the peasant masses in 1955 in answer to Mao's call for these to be established wherever possible on the basis of the mutual aid teams. To oppose the building of the people's communes during the Great Leap Forward, they alternated between Right opportunism and whipping up the "communist wind". Up to the early '60s, they pushed the four big freedoms of the rich peasants—to hire labor, trade, lend money and rent out land.

After the death of Mao, the top Chinese revisionists or capitalist-roaders headed by Deng Xiaoping pushed their plan of big-

comprador "modernization" and whipped up their line of capitalist reforms and opening up to foreign monopoly capitalism. They had as initial social base the national capitalists to whom they returned capital by redeeming the government bonds previously given in exchange for expropriated assets and the petty-bourgeoisified sections of the Party and state bureaucracy who were itching to have their revenge on Mao for the cultural revolution.

They proceeded to break up the people's communes, which by implication they derided as a system of collective irresponsibility, and revived the pre-revolutionary system of individual farming which they described as the individual household responsibility system. The local Party cadres who complied with the new line rewarded their own families and friends with the choicest portions of land, including orchards and fishponds. The rich peasants were resurrected overnight and became the biggest social base of the Dengist counterrevolution.

The rural industries built on a widescale during the cultural revolution were privatized under the legal fiction of management lease. At the municipal, provincial and national levels, the bourgeoisie reemerged rapidly. As in the old days of the Guomindang, the biggest Chinese bourgeois are the bureaucrat capitalists, with the difference that they masquerade as communist to legitimize their rule. They retain the state enterprises as milking cows and at the same time run the most profitable private enterprises, in combination with the foreign monopolies.

Mao's thesis that as soon as the revisionists come to power they restore capitalism and become social fascist has been proven correct. They have deprived the workers of the right to strike and other democratic rights and subject them to severe exploitation and oppression under the pretext of "socialist labor discipline"

The myth is being spread that because of capitalist reforms and opening up to foreign monopoly capitalism, China has developed rapidly and that, good for socialism, the Chinese proletariat has

increased in number. The truth is that the proletariat previously generated by a self-reliant socialist industry has been eroded and replaced by untenured cheap labor for sweatshops. Coolie labor of pre-revolutionary times has come back with a vengeance.

There is an explosive social polarization in China, with less than 10 percent of the population getting high income and more than 90 percent reduced to a miserable level of subsistence and subjected to job insecurity and growing unemployment. While the imperialist and big-comprador enclaves of export-oriented manufacturing glisten in the coastal provinces, the west and central regions of China are rapidly plunging into lower levels of stagnation, depression and refeudalization.

V. The continuing validity of the two stages

The most important fact to recognize about the character of monopoly capitalism today is that it is destructive to productive forces and harmful to the well-being of the proletariat and people to an extent and in a manner unprecedented in the entire history of capitalism. As we enter the 21st century under the shadow of imperialist "globalization" and neocolonialism, the overwhelming majority of the people of the world (up to 80 percent) suffer from semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. More than ever before, we are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, as Lenin described.

1 At the very global centers of capitalism, the United States, the European Union and Japan, there is a rapid rise in the organic composition of capital. The monopoly firms which are ahead in the competition are rapidly concentrating and centralizing capital, putting more capital into reequipment and retooling and reducing the wage fund through downsizing of labor and use of part-time and short-term contract workers in order to extract superprofits.

The result is the stagnant and recessive tendency of national productivity and profitability rates. The United States is economically strongest among the monopoly capitalist powers because it is using its technological lead to manufacture goods for export and pushing its export drive at the expense of the other monopoly capitalist powers. The unemployment rate is made to appear relatively low because temporary part-time jobs in the service sector are being generated and misrepresented as regular employment.

The handful of so-called newly-industrialized economies like South Korea and Taiwan are reeling from increasing economic difficulties because the capitalist crisis of overproduction has extended to export-oriented manufacturing, previously conceded to them since the '70s. US monopoly capitalism wishes to exploit its own domestic consumer market and is pushing the export of its own products to these economies under the slogan of trade and investment liberalization.

2. In the past, notwithstanding the Comecon, the bureaucrat monopoly capitalists in the former Soviet bloc countries put their economies within the world capitalist system, competed and colluded with the traditional industrial capitalist countries for a while and ultimately their revisionist regimes could not survive under the weight of the rapacity of the new bourgeoisie, the arms race and the huge debt from Western creditors.

Now, the former Soviet bloc countries are generally in an ever-worsening state of compradorization and economic devastation. The industrial and agricultural system of the former Soviet Union has broken down and its production has continuously plunged. It sells its natural resources cheaply to pay for the consumer manufactures being dumped on it from the West. Most of the republics of Russia and most of the former Soviet satellite countries in Eastern Europe are flagrantly in economic and social conditions similar to those of the third world.

All the former Soviet bloc countries are dependent on loans and manufactured supplies from the Western monopolies and are trapped in the web of such multilateral agencies as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (IBRD), World Trade Organization (WTO) and the EBRD. They are being reduced to the status of semicolonial and semifeudal countries ruled by the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class.

3. Since the overproduction of raw materials in the '70s, the third world countries have continuously plunged from one level of economic degradation to a lower one. Without exception, they have become neocolonial debt vassals of the imperialist countries and dependents on manufactured imports. Africa today presents the bleakest scene of misery and turbulence. But many countries in Asia and Latin America are basically in the same bleak situation.

In the notable case of China, the self-reliant industrial foundation previously established under socialism has been undermined. Export-oriented manufacturing and high consumption by the new bourgeoisie is bringing about the compradorization and refeudalization of China. The rapidly growing foreign debt and domestic public debt manifest the dismal neocolonial direction of China. The United States is pressing for extension of the bourgeois liberalization of the economy to that of the political system, i.e., discarding the signboard of the CPC and socialism, as in the Soviet Union.

The basic industries established in the past in some other third world countries like India and Brazil, have also been phased out or bankrupted due to the trade and investment liberalization enjoyed by the multinational corporations. The imperialists extend their direct investments and loans up to a certain point, where the compradorization as well as refeudalization of the economy can be generated.

In view of the massive retrogression of social economies in the third world and former Soviet bloc countries as a result of the depredations of monopoly capitalism, the theory and practice of the two stages of revolution remain valid and applicable in most countries of the world.

Now and for quite some time to come, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the new type, under the leadership of the proletariat, is necessary in order to confront and defeat the imperialists and the local exploiting classes and overcome semicolonial and semifeudal conditions that afflict more countries than ever before and to prepare the way for the socialist stage of the revolution.

It is completely untrue that mankind is already beyond the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, that bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the new type have become outdated and unnecessary, that the immediate political line everywhere is socialism and that pursuing the socialist revolution is merely a matter of raising similar economic demands everywhere, like equal pay for equal work and six-hour work day without reduction of pay.

The appropriate economic demands, which are internationally and nationally applicable must be made by the proletarian revolutionary parties. And they must be mentioned in the proper order in a particular country because a communist would look silly in the Philippines if he missed the immediate problems of mass unemployment and the actual low-wage levels and demanded first of all that the Filipino worker should get the same amount of wages as the workers in industrial capitalist countries.

More important than making economic demands, as if the imperialists were kindhearted, is undertaking the workers' strikes and the protest mass actions on the basis of concrete conditions in various countries in order to condemn the imperialist policies that oppress and exploit the proletariat and the broad masses of the people.

In the imperialist countries, the most important tasks are to build, expand and consolidate the revolutionary parties of the proletariat, generate workers' strikes and mass protest actions, raise economic demands but not be limited by them and prepare for the overthrow of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Socialist demands are made in order to raise the level of consciousness and militancy of the proletariat and the people and not really to expect mercy from the monopoly bourgeoisie.

In the third world and former Soviet-bloc countries, which are suffering from basically semicolonial and semifeudal conditions, it is possible and necessary to build revolutionary parties of the proletariat that can lead the broad masses of the people in the new-democratic and socialist stages of the revolution. In these countries, the people are now far more predisposed than those in the imperialist countries to wage armed revolution. The resurgence of the armed revolutionary movement in these countries can stimulate the forces of proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries.

The new world disorder that has arisen in the wake of the end of the Cold War provides favorable conditions for the resurgence of revolutionary movement led by the proletariat in the imperialist and dominated countries. The violent conflict in many parts of the world due to the bitter rivalries of reactionary factions under worsening socioeconomic conditions, the growing military interventions of imperialist powers and the sharpening competition of the imperialist powers themselves as a result of the crisis of overproduction are preparing the stage for interimperialist war as well as for revolutionary wars on an unprecedentedly wide scale in the forthcoming century. Pax Americana is not forever.

If something bigger like the October Revolution of 1917 came after the Paris Commune of 1871 and still something bigger like several socialist countries and a great wave of national liberation movements came after the October Revolution, then something

much bigger is forthcoming in the 21st century. The historical epoch of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is far from over. Let us look forward to the next peak of the world proletarian revolution. #

PERSPECTIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN COUNTRIES OPPRESSED BY IMPERIALISM¹

**By Jose Maria Sison
18 May 1997**

The crisis of the world capitalist system is becoming more acute than ever before and is intensifying the suffering of the people. The youth, together with the proletariat and the rest of the people, have no choice but to resist the oppression and exploitation.

It is absurd and unjust that the higher social character and higher efficiency of the new means of production should bring about chronic mass unemployment and worsened conditions of work and subsistence. This is because the capitalist relations of production require that specific monopoly firms maximize their profits and win in the competition by putting in more constant capital in high-tech equipment and by cutting down the variable capital for wages.

Right in the homegrounds of imperialism, the drive of the monopoly capitalists to concentrate and centralize capital and to maximize profits (or—for that matter—to minimize losses) means a systematic attack on the hard-won rights of the proletariat, the massive elimination of jobs and the rapid erosion of social benefits, despite the superprofits extracted from the countries under imperialist domination.

We must understand the inherent laws of motion of capitalism which lead to the crisis of overproduction and consequently to the

¹ Message to the 8th International Whitsun Youth Festival in Gelsenkirchen, Germany

destruction of productive forces and we must reject the chauvinist and racist notion that migrant workers are to blame for taking jobs away from the host people or that the third world countries are taking away industries and jobs from the imperialist countries.

The unevenness in the development of countries has become ever grosser under the persistent mode of imperialist domination. The imperialists in countries having only some 10 percent of the world's population have reduced the rest of the world to various levels of underdevelopment and poverty and to various lower roles in the international division of labor characterized by neocolonialism and unbridled abuse of finance capital.

Imperialist domination has relegated the semicolonial and dependent countries to social conditions far worse than those in the imperialist countries. In these imperialist-dominated countries, where more than 85 percent of the world's population reside, the destruction of productive forces is taking place on a far wider scale through the disintegration of national industries, far higher rates of unemployment and the most senseless forms of counterproductive spending and foreign borrowing.

In most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are dependent on raw-material production for export, persistent feudal and semifeudal backwardness and neocolonial exploitation combine to further degrade the economies, generate unemployment and cause social turbulence. There is no industrial development. These countries are being crushed by the foreign debt burden because they have long suffered deteriorating terms of trade for their raw-material exports.

There is increasing violence in the rivalry of reactionary cliques using the most backward slogans of fascism, racism, ethnocentrism and religious bigotry. Civil wars involving genocidal actions have been carried out by the most reactionary forces. In some countries, however, legal democratic mass movements and armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy

are being waged. There are the protracted people's wars being waged along the new-democratic line as in the Philippines and there are the antidespotic armed democratic movements such as that now raging and winning victory in Congo-Zaire.

Even in the cases of certain oil-producing countries, which in the past could provide their small populations with a relatively high standard of living, there is the drastic decline in living standards and the emergence of social unrest because the imperialists have dictated the use of the national oil income by the local reactionary regimes and the local exploiting classes to pay for the rising costs of military supplies and consumption goods from the imperialist countries.

Even the handful of economies, previously allowed during the cold war to engage in export-oriented manufacturing and to use savings to build some basic industries, are now suffering from rising trade deficits and a deepening depression due to the overproduction of cheap consumer manufactures for the imperialist countries. Thus, general strikes and other forms of resistance are breaking out in South Korea and the like.

In the few economies where an industrial foundation was established in the past, either because of socialism as in China or bourgeois nationalism as in India, there is economic retrogression through compradorization and the undermining and closure of basic industries. This has resulted in disemployment of large numbers of workers in bankrupted and privatized enterprises. Social turbulence is spreading in these countries.

Membership in what can be called the league of underdeveloped countries has increased. Entire basic industries have disintegrated or closed down in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. In the main, surplus manufactures are being dumped on them from the West. The economies are being compradorized. Class polarization has engendered social turmoil. Civil wars have

broken out in the Caucasus, Central Asia, the former Yugoslavia and Albania.

The imperialist countries dominate their neocolonies through bilateral relations as well as through multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and WTO. They control social and economic policies, the actual investment and trade patterns, consumer tastes and culture, and military security.

Until the global debt crisis of 1982, the main thrust of loan capital from the imperialist countries was for infrastructure-building (roads and bridges) and raising raw-material production. It relegated the neocolonies to debt vassalage, constantly deteriorating terms of trade and rising trade deficits. Since 1982, without any solution to the debt crisis spawned by Keynesian policy, the imperialist countries shifted to monetarism and neoliberalism and the use of speculative capital in stock and bond markets for financing consumer imports, telecommunications projects, real estate development and budgetary needs of the puppet states in a few so-called emergent markets.

Currently, the imperialists are carrying out the neoliberal policy of privatization, deregulation and trade and investment liberalization. Relatedly, they are pushing the flexible labor policy, which attacks workers' rights, job security and social benefits, pushes mass layoffs, freezes or cuts down wage levels and favors the use of part-timers and short-term contract workers.

More than 75 percent of global foreign investment flows are concentrated in only five industrial capitalist countries. Less than 25 percent go to some ten semicolonial and dependent countries in Asia, Latin America and Central Europe. China gets the lion's share of this secondary flow of foreign direct investments. But the privatization of the economy, the sweatshop manufacturing for export and heavy importation of luxury consumption goods have undermined the state-owned enterprises.

The imperialist countries aggravate and deepen the underdevelopment of the semicolonial and dependent countries both by allowing a few of them to engage in import-dependent manufacturing-for-export and consigning the overwhelming majority to stagnation and retrogression under sheer semifeudal conditions of raw-material production-for-export.

The imperialist curse of underdevelopment, mass unemployment, inflation and widespread social misery, the plunder of natural resources and ravaging of the environment can be ended only through the people's armed revolutionary movement to overthrow the counterrevolutionary state and establish the people's democratic state under working class leadership. This paves the way for the socialist revolution.

For every given period, the immediate demands of the working class and the people in every semicolonial and dependent country must be based on the current conditions of oppression and exploitation and must be reasonable and realistic enough to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people. At the same time, propaganda and agitation must indicate further steps forward (such as the 30-hour work week) and place the immediate demands in the context of the two-stage revolution—new-democratic and socialist.

The demand for a 30-hour work week without wage reduction and without increased workload or without falling under the imperialists' flexible labor policy of mass unemployment and part-time job generation is good for exposing the absurdity and injustice of the capitalists' use of ever higher technology for private profit, for asserting the need to spread the social dignity of productive employment and for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the proletariat and the people to wage the socialist revolution against monopoly capitalism.

The demand should be premised on a condemnation of the capitalist system and on the advocacy of socialism. It should take

into account the concrete conditions, especially in the semicolonial and dependent countries, where the minimum wage is at least ten times lower than that in the imperialist countries and where large numbers of people are suffering extreme conditions of either mass unemployment, untenured subcontract labor requiring more than 12 hours per day at piece-rate wage or a formal eight-hour work day under output quotas that are impossible to fulfill and are used merely to justify lesser actual wage and the practice of six-month temporary work contracts

In the Philippines, as in many other neocolonies, the going minimum wage is only 180 pesos or some nine Deutsche marks for an eight-hour work day for those lucky enough to be regularly employed. The typical multinational firm employs only a few to work in the factory and farms out more work to subcontractors outside the factory. The workers in a factory are subjected to impossible output quotas which drive them to produce more but still not enough to qualify them for the full legal minimum wage and for promotion to the status of tenured workers. The situation is worse for those who have to work more than 12 hours a day at starvation piece-rate wages under the rule of the subcontractors.

These conditions, similar to those obtaining in the sweatshops of China and India, must be taken into account in the formulation of the immediate demands. The workers themselves will not seriously consider any trade union organizer who advocates an overnight wage increase of 1000 percent or the corresponding decrease of work time and work load in order to come up even to the current minimum wage standards in the imperialist countries. At the moment, the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* in the Philippines is demanding only a 100-peso or 55-percent increase in the current wage level of 180 pesos and respect for job security and all the basic trade union and democratic rights of the workers which are under attack by the flexible labor policy.

Responsibility for the deterioration of wage and living conditions in the imperialist countries should be placed squarely on the monopoly bourgeoisie and should not be obscured by the chauvinist and racist propaganda that jobs and industries are being taken away by the *semicolonial and dependent countries* or by the workers there who are wrongly depicted as the scabs of the world.

The uniformity of economic demands of the workers of the world will not revive the jobs or improve wage conditions in the imperialist countries. The dividing line between reformists and revolutionaries in any part of the world is whether their set of economic demands, based on concrete conditions, is linked to the armed seizure of power or to the preparation for armed seizure of power by the proletariat against the imperialists and their lack-eyes.

What the workers in the imperialist countries can do to help the workers in the imperialist-dominated countries is to undertake campaigns of protest against imperialism and against the veritable use of slave labor in the latter countries. These campaigns have been conducted in some cities in imperialist countries against multinational firms engaged in sweatshop production of consumer electronics, garments, leather goods, toys and the like in the third world.

It is necessary for the proletariat and people of the world to unite against imperialism and struggle for the socialist cause. The revolutionary struggles in the imperialist countries and those in the semicolonial and dependent countries are progressively interactive and mutually supportive. In the industrial capitalist countries, the conditions are ripe for propagating immediately the general line of socialist revolution. In semicolonial or dependent countries, the general line of new-democratic revolution preparatory to socialist revolution applies.

However, while the economic and technical foundation for socialism exists in the imperialist countries, it is also here where

the monopoly bourgeoisie is strongest in resisting revolutionary change in an all-round way. Therefore, the proletariat and the people in the imperialist countries must wage militant class struggle in preparation for the *armed seizure of political power* and must be supported by the people's revolutionary struggles in the semicolonial and dependent countries.

In the absence of a powerful socialist country, with an industrial base enabling it to give support to successful new-democratic revolutions, the proletariat and people in the semicolonial and dependent countries must wage revolutionary struggles even more tenaciously and militantly in order to create the conditions favorable for revolution in the imperialist countries as well in countries formerly or currently ruled by the revisionists and still retaining some basic industries.

The Philippine delegation expresses high appreciation for all the German organizations that are supporting the revolutionary struggles in the semicolonial and dependent countries and congratulates the Solidarity International for striving to develop mutual aid and benefit and international cooperation among the people and forces fighting for socialism and against imperialism.

We welcome the proposal for a broad international formation of anti-imperialist forces. This can arise from already existing anti-imperialist forces and can encourage the emergence of new anti-imperialist forces in various countries and regions. The solidarity of a broad range of anti-imperialist forces can be a sound political base for advancing the socialist cause and for carrying forward proletarian internationalism by the revolutionary parties of the proletariat.

The youth of the world have a crucial stake in the advance of anti-imperialist struggles and in the realization of the socialist cause. In societies ruled by the imperialists, the young men and women suffer the rising costs of education and living, unemployment and a life of uncertainty and misery. They are at the same

time subjected to the most deceptive kinds of imperialist propaganda and cultural degradation designed to lull or distract them. When they carry out militant protests and wage revolutionary struggles, they are subjected to fascist repression. When war breaks out, it is them whom the imperialists and local reactionaries conscript and send to the battlefields.

The youth of the world must unite and march forward with the rest of the people to fight resolutely and militantly for a world free from imperialism and enjoying the bounty of socialism. Adhering to the revolutionary leadership of the working class, they can build a new and better world. #

**COMPLETE THE RECTIFICATION
MOVEMENT, CONSOLIDATE
AND EXPAND THE REVOLUTIONARY
MOVEMENT IN MANILA-RIZAL,
AND CHANNEL SUPPORT
TO THE COUNTRYSIDE**

**Communique of the Expanded Meeting
of the Provisional Executive Committee
of the Manila-Rizal Party Committee
on the Assessment of the Second Great
Rectification Movement**

We have firmly carried out the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) despite our internal problems and the obstacles laid by the reactionary enemy and the counterrevolutionary renegades.

The general summing up of the Party's experience has served to clarify and expose the bankrupt line and to counteract the poison spread by the Popoy clique, other reformist and collaborationist forces, and the propaganda offensive of the reactionary classes. Thus, we won and maintained the allegiance of the proletarian revolutionaries and the democratic and revolutionary forces and masses in the region.

We can now take pride in a new regional Party organization which is deeply rooted among and capable of leading ever broadening sections of the masses of our people and their movement in the region.

We have sustained the struggles and movement of the toiling masses for their own interests and in pursuit of the national and social aspirations of the people against the reactionary US-Ramos

regime. At the same time, we continue to build and consolidate our revolutionary strength in the region.

Nonetheless, our efforts at rectification are still wanting and far from thoroughgoing. We still have many weaknesses and shortcomings, especially in the *ideological building of the Party*. We need to do a lot more in strengthening and expanding the Party and in firmly carrying out our tasks in the urban revolutionary movement. We have to decisively overcome many weaknesses. Utmost effort is necessary for us to avoid getting bogged down recurrently in previous ideological, political and organizational weaknesses.

Thoroughgoing rectification is important above all. We must comprehensively and sharply distinguish what is right and what is wrong in our practice and identify collective and individual responsibility for the major errors and losses. Only thus can we lay the solid basis for firmly advancing and bringing the revolution to a higher level.

IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FIELD

In the past two years, we regrouped the loyal proletarian revolutionaries and rebuilt the Party organization from the ruins of the anti-Party wrecking operations and the poison spewed by the Popoy clique. We resolutely carried out ideological building of the Party within the framework of the SGRM amid the dislocations brought about by enemy attacks on the Party leadership in the region. We strove to complete the first phase of the rectification movement and reached some degree of consolidation.

But we lost sight of the focal ideological tasks set by the SGRM and thus we have not completed even the first phase of the rectification movement. The regional Party leadership lacked the determination to carry out its tasks in this respect. There were serious shortcomings in the study of the basic documents of the

SGRM, in implementing the three-level Party education, in summing up our own experience of more than one decade, and in criticism and self-criticism.

We have not gone deep enough in ideological rectification. A sizeable number of our membership is still vulnerable to confusion and prone to commit errors arising from past and current weaknesses. We must double our efforts to catch up and persevere in carrying out the SGRM through to the end.

Since August 1996, we have stressed the importance of completing the task of summing up more than a decade of experience in the region. The correct process and framework has been set. We have focused our attention on completing this task at the soonest possible time.

Study of the basic documents of the SGRM in 1993 and 1994 was lively. But eventually, there was a shift to other topics and studying has become sluggish generally.

A total of 70 percent of our entire membership has collectively studied the documents "Reaffirm our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors" and "General Review of Important Events and Decisions from 1980-1991". Ten percent of this was accomplished in the last half of 1996.

Only 33 percent of our membership has collectively studied the document "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism" and 14 percent of this was accomplished during the last six months of 1996. Very low targets were set for those who would study this and other topics because of the dearth of cadres capable of leading the study of this topic. Instead of training more instructors from the lower levels, instruction work was limited to regional cadres.

The study of subsequent documents of the SGRM, such as the July 1995 assessment by the EC-CC "The Situation of the Rectification Movement and the Revolutionary Movement", was left to the initiative of the lower units and organs. And the place and

importance of these documents to overall ideological work was not properly explained.

Some of the reasons for this tendency have been the change in stress to other topics (main factor); weak implementation of our plan; unresolved problems regarding technical requirements, instructors and assembling the students; and, in certain instances, laying education work aside to attend to mass mobilizations.

Study of the old Basic Party Course (BPC) and Basic Course for Party Cadres (BCPC) was temporarily stopped. Instead, the study of such references for the BPC as *Guide for Cadres and Members* . . . *Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR)*, "Specific Characteristics of our People's War" (SCPW), "Our Urgent Tasks" (OUT), "Mass Work", Dialectical and Historical Materialism, and Semifeudalism was recommended. No clarification was made that the study of the old BPC (11 topics) and BCPC could proceed while the revised BPC and Intermediate Party Course were not yet ready. Some restudied the old Primary Course.

Only the study of PSR and "Guide . . ." reached a significant percentage of the entire membership (47 percent and of this 17 percent was undertaken during second half of 1996). The study of the other recommended topics has been haphazard and uneven.

We have given the course on PSR to a few thousands of activists (66 percent) of whom took the course in the period from July '96 to January '97. This is almost a fivefold increase (496 percent) from the number of those who had completed the course in March '95.

However, the study of the Activists' Course, Five Golden Rays, Mass Work and SCPW has been sluggish. The widespread study of popular versions of the documents of the Rectification Movement — "Critical and Creative Tasks . . ." and "Socialism and the New World Disorder"—has not been systematic. Thus our mass activists remain vulnerable to the bankrupt and revisionist line and theory of the renegades. We have not made use of these study

materials in preparing the activists for recruitment into the Party as candidate members.

Study sessions were carried out within pertinent collectives using mainly the seminar method. However, later assessment revealed that this method imposed heavier technical requirements for assembling the students and ensuring security, which limited the number of those who could finish the course.

The problems encountered in giving the BPC delayed the fulfillment of the requirements for the ideological consolidation of Party members, particularly in developing full members from candidate members. This problem also led to a tendency to lower the standards for Party recruitment.

In October 1995, we drew up and set the guidelines for discussing writings on the struggle against the revisionist renegades. The guidelines were finalized but the study of these writings has not been systematically propagated.

We have started to disseminate such special study materials as *State and Revolution*, *On Contradiction*, *On Practice*, *Semifeudalism*, *General Crisis of Imperialism*, *Socialism, Theory and Practice* and *Capital* (Vol. I) among cadres and among those being developed as cadres. We started this at the regional level in October 1995 and followed it up in 1996. However, the number of those who have studied these is still very small relative to the total number of cadres.

We have just started discussing the documents "Outline of Summing up of Urban Struggle" and "Some Important Lessons on Mass Work in the Cities". Discussions are mainly among selected regional and next lower level cadres.

We have yet to make a program of reading for the cadres and Party members at various levels, particularly in preparation for the three-level Party course. The reproduction and distribution of reading and other study materials have been limited and unsystematic. We have made two attempts (once in 1995 and again in

1996) to put up a machinery for reproduction and distribution by appropriating the resources and deploying personnel but so far we have not succeeded.

In the main, we failed to supervise closely the implementation of our educational plan although we had set the target of having the entire Party membership finish the study courses.

We have been able to regularize anew the conduct of comprehensive assessments and we have made substantial progress in reviving our past practice of periodic criticism and self-criticism.

We have been able to conduct regular assessments every six months at every level of the Party organization. However, the assessment and analysis of problems and obstacles to accomplishing the tasks in the rectification movement still lack comprehensiveness and depth. We have not thoroughly beaten the habit of making superficial and haphazard assessments as was prevalent during the period of disorientation and obsession with sweeping and shallow propaganda and agitation.

Preparations for assessments are usually inadequate. There are no guides for reporting and no system for the collection and submission of regular reports. Drafts and documents are not prepared to make a rundown of the issues in advance. We still lack a unified understanding of the categories and standards used by the Party in the major lines of work. We need to study anew the organizational guides, the basic documents and references of the Party.

Because of weaknesses in assessment, there is no firm anchor for the conduct of criticism and self-criticism. Individual responsibility for the major errors and shortcomings are not clearly identified.

The initial regional social investigation and class analysis is still being written. We have also called on all Party units to conduct sustained and multilevel social investigation in the course of doing mass work. Although this task was set in 1995, its

importance and role in the work at every level has not been thoroughly grasped.

In fact, the past programs from regional down to the basic level were not consciously based on systematic social investigation at each level. We were satisfied with random and individual impressions of the situation in the areas we were working in.

We need to improve our conduct of social investigation. Some investigations focus exclusively on issues concerning trade unions, community struggles such as those against demolition or, worse, in connection with making "project proposals" to raise funds. We must focus ourselves on acquiring a comprehensive and clear understanding of the concrete situation of the masses in every area for the benefit of solidly organizing them for the revolutionary movement and for the people's democratic revolution.

A major factor for our shortcomings in this regard has been our inability to completely get rid of the habit of haphazard organizing and predilection for sweeping propaganda and agitation.

We have succeeded in reviving the practice of drawing up a comprehensive plan, setting the ideological, political and organizational tasks and giving due priority to ideological building. It is now common practice to draw up plans for work at the intermediate and basic levels.

However, the failure to identify the short-term and long-term direction of consolidation and expansion in the context of territorial work is still a common problem. This is due to persistent weaknesses in social investigation, in conducting comprehensive and incisive assessment, and in grasping territorial work and methods of solid mass organizing.

IN THE POLITICAL FIELD

We are past the critical phase of merely regrouping the revolutionary forces that have rallied to us in the region. The revolutionary underground movement and the mass organizations,

particularly in communities of the urban poor, have expanded dramatically. This achievement is dramatic, relative to the limited number of forces with whom we started as well as to the continued screening of the forces that we won over from among those who arose during the period of disorientation and some of whom subsequently dropped out.

We have sustained and are striving to advance the revolutionary workers' movement in the region. On our own, we have started to build anew other people's and sectoral movements at various levels and territorial scope. We have fulfilled our task of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses in advancing the struggle for their own interests against the US-Ramos regime and have gradually developed our capability in this regard.

We have started to make calls and have rallied actual support for the armed struggle in the countryside though not yet on a systematic and broad basis.

There is still a crying need to build and consolidate our current forces. Our forces remain vulnerable to the poison and deception being sown by the revisionist renegades, and by other reformist and counterrevolutionary forces. We have a lot of catching up to do in organizing other sectors of the people and for this purpose, we have not been able to efficiently use our organized forces especially in the workers' movement. We must find the correct balance between solid step-by-step organizing and sweeping organizing and mobilization of the masses.

We still need to combat the remnants of such tendencies as economism, and bureaucratic and commandist attitudes in the conduct of mass work, and to clarify the orientation of mass organizing in the region.

It is our urgent task to let the broadening and growing revolutionary forces and movement gain sufficient strength and depth. Thus, we can steadily advance and carry out the task of stepping

up direct and indirect support of the cities to the armed struggle in the countryside.

Building the Revolutionary Underground Movement

In the past two years, the total number of our mass activists grew by 90 percent. This is short of the target of 150 percent set in our March '95 plan and inadequate relative to our wide mass base. Our mass activists are at the core of the leadership of tens of thousands of members in hundreds of unions and urban poor organizations.

However, the mass activists in organizing groups in factories, communities and schools grew by 182 percent during the last year-and-a-half. The bulk of these are in organizing groups (OGs), which registered an increase of 317 percent.

This constitutes a big leap and recovery from the setbacks due to the mainly sweeping and economist frame of the "union committee" and "union group" and "community-organizing" approach. We have moved towards solid and step-by-step organizing of the masses. Previous to this, we lost a significant number of activists in the process of rectification (we started out not knowing the exact number in 1994).

We have also started to develop the activists and network of the underground movement in urban poor communities, as well as in schools and among the middle forces, mainly among teachers and church people. In 1995, the organized mass activists we could identify were almost all in factories.

A major factor for this development has been our improved grasp of the methods of work as clarified in "Our Urgent Tasks" and the resolution requiring all Party members to organize propaganda and organizing groups (POGs). Initial discussions among the principal cadres of "Some Lessons Drawn from our Experience of Mass Work in the Cities" have also helped a great deal.

However, it is necessary to increase the membership of POGs for them to become self-sustained and consolidated.

It is also necessary to develop the capability of Party units and members and OG activists to conduct political education among the masses. Among us, there are still those who limit themselves to purely union work and become immersed solely in the local community struggles.

The task at hand is to consolidate, expand and build intensively the main areas where we have gained some foothold and expand to other areas that remain to be covered in the region.

Advancing the Revolutionary Workers' Movement

We have worked among and extended Party leadership and influence to tens of thousands of workers in a few hundred factory unions in the region. We have developed contacts in about a hundred more unions.

It is necessary for us to maximize our organizers and target the numerous strategic and large manufacturing, services, commercial and transport enterprises which have not been reached by our direct organizing work. Many of the enterprises where we have mass work are in the process of transferring to the Southern Tagalog and Central Luzon "industrial" enclaves. We must therefore maximize our organizers also by extending their sphere of mass organizing to nearby factories as well as urban poor communities.

We must also systematize social investigation and class analysis as a major factor in improving our work, in setting the direction and priority of expansion, and extending our political influence among the workers.

We must grasp the relationship between factory and community organizing. Cadres and activists in the workers' movement

must support the organizing work and struggles of the urban poor and other sectors of the people.

Factory struggles have just started to regain vigor and militancy. Valenzuela and Quezon City registered the most number of factory strikes. Strikes numbered 35 the past year in the whole region. There has been a resurgence of struggles against contractualization and for wage increases, whether in CBA or not. We have also rid unions under our influence of the practice of union brokering for the capitalists during union struggles.

We have given full-time attention to the consolidation and expansion of the revolutionary core (revolutionary underground movement) as the legal machinery, and the open conduct of education and propaganda and mass mobilization are being developed. Legal mass organizations are leading the mass campaigns and mobilizations in a self-reliant way. This is a departure from the attritive mobilizations of a small mass of organized forces, which was the practice during the period of the "pol-mil" line (insurrectionism).

However, we still need to grasp the dialectical relationship between consolidation and expansion. Our inadequacy in this regard is a major factor in the slow pace in the expansion of Party leadership and influence, in the reinvigoration of workers' struggles and in the development of our capability for mass mobilizations and also for engaging the old and new yellow trade union misleaders in the struggle to gain the allegiance of the workers.

The Party branches and groups together with the underground movement at the core of revolutionary workers' movement is small relative to the mass membership of unions. Nevertheless, this force is significant enough to start with and maximize for the expansion and consolidation of our work in factories and communities, and to generate cadres and personnel to support the armed struggle in the countryside.

Organizing and Advancing the Struggles of Workers, Semiproletarians and Other Urban Poor

Our organizing among the urban poor has proceeded at a relatively fast pace. In March '95, mass organizing was being undertaken in only a few tens of communities. This has increased to some hundreds. The mass organizations have increased by 158 percent.

We have also started working on and setting up organizations of workers and semi-proletarians, women, youth and cultural activists in the communities along with our work in neighborhood associations based on the issue of housing/demolition.

The main factors for this success has been our taking up of the urgent issues of the masses in the communities and the increased number and capacity of our Party organizers and units.

We have criticized the reluctance to transform the traditional mass organizations in the communities into progressive ones. We have also withdrawn the concept of organizing separate workers' organizations in the urban poor communities. What is needed instead is for our mass activists and worker Party members to join, spread out and lead the organizations in the communities they live in.

Expansion is still limited to a few cities/towns. This is mainly the result of the plans of Party organs and units at the basic level based on available forces and organizers in the communities. There was also the tendency to work only in communities where there was the issue of demolition.

Our leadership and influence over the mass organizations of the urban poor is still superficial and unstable. We have to work double-time in building and expanding the revolutionary core – the OGs-OCs and the underground mass organizations.

The revolutionary core has grown exponentially from the very few that we started with. However, it is still very skeletal. We have

yet to overcome the tendency to rely on sweeping organizing and to grasp the method of solid and step-by-step organizing of the masses.

We have to develop our capacity to mobilize the masses in the communities for their own interests and for the national struggle. Except for local struggles, we can only mobilize less than a thousand at the most for mobilizations on national issues.

We must be good at using various forms of activities to conduct propaganda and expand our revolutionary work. At the same time we must be on guard against some negative influences of NGOism.

We must also be on guard against the tendency to build top-heavy legal alliance structures that eat up cadres, Party members and activists who could be more fruitfully deployed in solid organizing of the masses.

There is a strong basis for developing coordination of struggles and mutual support among urban poor communities covering entire districts and towns as well as clusters of the same, particularly on the issues of demolition, social services and others.

In this regard, it is urgent that we attend to the task of producing the guide to step-by-step organizing in urban poor communities for our organizers and forces.

Organizing in Schools

We have only started working in schools outside the scope of the national youth and student bureau. We have set up OGs in several schools in three cities and these are working among organizations of students, teachers and employees.

Through the middle forces staff, we have established contacts among the associations of teachers and employees in some public schools in three towns and in some sectarian schools, and we have formed ND cells among the teachers.

There is an urgent need to deploy organizers in strategic schools in cities/municipalities (college and high school) to set up the OGs-OCs, chapters of KM and KAGUMA, Party branches and groups. Along with this is the work among and/or the setting up of academic, traditional and political organizations of students, teachers, and employees' unions for the overall advance of the urban revolutionary movement and support of the armed struggle in the countryside.

Promoting and Supporting the Armed Struggle in the Countryside

We have started encouraging mass activists and Party cadres and members to seek deployment in the countryside. We have also collected financial and material support for the countryside such as firearms, ammunition, clothes and medicine. But it is extremely inadequate relative to the size and potential capacity of our mass base. What has been lacking is the ideological preparation of our forces and conscious planning.

Our districts have not yet been able to implement the program of adopting a region/front because some comrades think that they are not yet up to the task. We have just started to arrange our natural lines to the regions and guerrilla fronts.

Let us find creative ways to exhort our forces to go to the countryside. Let us revive the attitude and practice during our early years as a Party, which viewed deployment to the countryside as a "badge of honor." Let us revive the slogan "Cherish the Army! Cherish the people of the guerrilla fronts! Create the model armed propaganda unit of workers, youth-students and peasants!"

Let us start launching campaigns to broadcast the situation and struggles of the peasant masses in the countryside. Among the activities that can be started are symposiums and forums with peasant leaders as speakers or formation of voluntary "serve the

people brigades" to gather support for the countryside in times of calamity, among others.

Middle Forces Organizing and Alliance Work

We have made some headway in alliance and organizing work among the middle forces at town and city levels. There is some solid achievement in this kind of work among teachers and health workers' organizations in two cities. In the main, contact work has been proceeding among small businessmen, academics, government employees and professionals. We have also organized some support groups composed of professionals.

Only a limited number of cadres and forces could be assigned to the middle forces since our main priority is to speed up our work in organizing the basic masses. We failed to promptly identify work among the teachers, church people and health workers as our principal stress in organizing the middle forces along the territorial framework.

Middle forces organizations have mobilized their members to attend our symposia, film showings and centennial celebration of the 1896 Revolution, integrate in workers' strikes and urban poor communities, and participate in rallies against APEC and oil deregulation.

We still have to learn well the use of revolutionary dual tactics in dealing with reactionary elections. While exposing and denouncing the futility and deceptive character of reactionary elections, we can at the same time find creative ways by which we can gain some tactical advantages for the revolution.

We must issue clear and correct guidance, and undertake political and ideological preparation, in order not to pass up opportunities and at the same time be on guard against the dangers of corruption and degeneration that go with working within reactionary institutions and processes.

Women's Revolutionary Movement

Women's committees in unions predominantly of women are few in number despite the fact that it is from these unions that a large majority of forces are mobilized for campaigns of the sector.

We have made some headway in organizing women's associations in the communities. Several organizations of women with several hundred members were formed recently. These have influence on some other women's organizations with a few hundred members and which in turn are linked to still others.

We have not reconstituted our regional staff for women since it was dissolved in 1994, nor have we set up a regional sectoral organization of women pending the completion of priority target of basic-level organizing and the completion and propagation of our summing up of the urban revolutionary women's movement over the last decade. Correctly drawing up the lessons from such a summing up will serve as the key to advancing our work in the women's movement.

Propaganda Work

We have yet to resume the publication of *People's Courier* despite several attempts, the last of which was in 1996. We must exert all efforts to do so for the prompt and extensive clarification of various political and ideological issues among our forces as well as those affecting the basic masses.

We must be good at taking advantage of open forms and channels for our propaganda to complement our clandestine propaganda in order to reach the broadest audience possible.

Leafleteering, OD-OP and lightning rallies have been few and far between on occasions like the NPA anniversary and Party anniversary. Only a limited number of territorial units have been

capable of these. The revitalization of our mass work that give rise to daring mass activists will also revitalize these activities.

Cultural Work

We have started to invigorate cultural work in the region.

Our efforts to propagate and develop cultural activism among our forces and organized masses in the factories, communities and schools have been successful. At the same time, we have succeeded in developing united front work among progressive artists/cultural workers and their organizations. We have made our cultural work serve our education and propaganda work among the masses and to propagate progressive and revolutionary culture.

Concerted efforts at the regional and basic level have succeeded in the formation of theatre and music groups in a national university, in factories and communities, with a total membership of several scores. Links with professional and amateur artists (theatre, music and visual arts) and one grouping of various musical bands have also been developed.

A regional cultural alliance has been formed and the talents pooled have been harnessed in mass campaigns, cultural presentations, training and workshops for cultural activists at the basic level. Through this alliance a recording of new songs and poems for distribution among the basic masses has been produced.

The work of our regional cultural unit has been assessed and have directed it towards rectification. Previous to this, big production projects were stopped and service to cultural activism at the basic level was stressed.

We still need to propagate the correct orientation and education on cultural work among our cadres, Party members and the masses we are organizing. We can make use of the articles on culture in *Struggle for National Democracy*, in the *Intermediate*

Party Course and in *Mao Zedong Thought Lives*. These should be followed by training and service at the basic level.

IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL FIELD

In the main, we have built the Party organization in the region. We have moved forward from the critical stage of merely preserving our ranks from the anti-Party campaign of the revisionist renegades. We have sufficient organizational strength to set up the regular regional Party committee and its organs and units at the intermediate and basic levels. We are adequately rooted among the toiling masses. We have accomplished this through continuous efforts at Party building after the wrecking operations of the Popoy clique and in the face of grave internal problems.

In the main we have practiced the Party committee system and collective leadership and upheld democratic centralism, notwithstanding some internal contradictions, weaknesses and disorientation.

However, the stability and regularity we have achieved is still inadequate due principally to weaknesses in ideological building.

It is our urgent task to consolidate and expand our Party several-fold within the framework of carrying out the Second Great Rectification Movement through to the end.

The expansion of our Party membership is slow but steady. From March 1995 to January 1997, membership grew by only 23 percent in the entire region. The total number of new recruits within the same period reached 50 percent of total membership from March 1995.

We met our recruitment target but a large number (almost a hundred) were dropped from or dropped out of the Party within the same period.

The majority of those dropped from the roll are those who have become completely passive or were recruited during the period of reaching out in 1993-1994. These elements had been

consolidated, were not fully reintegrated and were not able to assume any task. Though we are still striving to reach out to them and to consolidate them, we can still expect some falling off from among those recruited through sweeping mass work during the period of disorientation and the early part of 1990.

Some of the problems in the recruitment of candidate members were: the lack of a systematized minimum education to introduce the Party and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to developing mass activists; the irregular status of Party branches (no full Party member); the tendency to be drawn if not absorbed by legal work in the unions and community associations.

The intermediate Party organs will have to shoulder the responsibility for recommending, assessing and deciding whom to accept for candidate membership and especially full membership.

In many cases, the study of the documents of the First Great Rectification Movement has been made an additional requisite for Party membership besides the study of the Party Constitution. (This is a sectarian tendency.)

The task of developing full Party members was neglected because its importance in Party building was not fully grasped and upheld. A great number of cadres we are developing have not been sworn in as full members. In a specific case, full members are led by a candidate-member cadre. Our decision to stop giving the old BKP was also a big factor in retarding the ideological preparation of candidate members for full membership.

The number of members working full-time has gone up this year. Full-timers increased by several scores but more than ten also dropped out or went back to being part-timers.

Among many of our forces, the readiness to be deployed at any moment, anywhere, especially to the countryside, is still an unresolved issue. At its root is the tendency towards urban centrism based on the framework of urban insurrectionism which has not been fully rectified.

Compared to the needs of our urban work, the increase in the number of full-timers has been small and slow, and even more so if we take into account the crying need of the countryside for cadres and activists.

The consolidation of cadres and Party members and the rectification of our style of conducting mass work are insufficient because of the absence of systematic programming and planning to develop full-timers.

In line with our resolute rectification, we should immediately come up with a program that will prepare prospective full-timers ideologically and generate resources for their families' support.

The number of cadres and prospective cadres at the basic level grew by one-third since October 1995. We achieved this by boldly allowing comrades who are ready to assume tasks and hold responsible positions. On the other hand, we are still wanting in the systematic assessment, ideological development and training of cadres.

So far, we have based our identification of cadres on the actual level of responsibility they have assumed rather than on the national standard. For example, those considered as cadres at the basic level are the branch secretaries, and at the intermediate level, the committee secretaries.

Sectoral specialization in mass work still remains. For example, we still need to train trade union cadres to do mass work in the communities or schools adjacent to the factory and redress the uneven development and disposition of cadres.

We need to undertake a thorough review of the levelling, promotion and disposition of cadres. Simultaneously, we should ensure the development of new cadres in order to deepen our cadre corps at all levels and guarantee the second and third line of leadership at every level.

At present, 75 percent of our Party membership are deployed in units at the basic level.

In the past one and a half years, the net increase of our Party branches has been slow. Factory branches that were lost had been due to company closure. Alongside this, plans for expansion in strategic factories, communities and schools have not been systematic.

The majority of branches in factories and communities are irregular, with a membership consisting of a few candidate members.

Many factory branches are capable of leading local struggles. However, there is a tendency to be drawn if not absorbed by day-to-day union work. Also, the branch confines itself to the factory instead of assuming tasks in nearby communities.

Community branches are still unable to function as the political center of the people. The level we have attained in solid mass organizing and in transforming and heightening the consciousness of masses in the legal, traditional organizations is still insufficient.

The formation of detached and independent expansion teams (composed of Party members and mass activists) has weakened the collectives of some Party elements given the context that majority of them are still new candidate members. These units are being put under the guidance of stable branches in factories, communities and schools.

We have to catch up on building regular Party branches and on expanding the scope of work in the principal territories of the region. We have to expand and consolidate our mass base and raise the political level of our mass activists in accordance with our framework of solid mass organizing.

With regard to the long-standing branches and members mired in economism and corruption, particular summings-up and criticism and self-criticism are necessary before work can advance. Those incapable of rectifying will simply be left behind by the new forces intent on revolution.

Party committees at the intermediate level are generally newly formed and irregular. Their composition is small (newly developed cadres) and are without executive committees and secretariats. Current stress is on increasing Party branches and most of the main territories and sectors at their specific level have not yet been covered. There are still some cases of confusion on the territorial orientation, e.g., formation of trade union committees and community committees. So far, these intermediate committees are capable of drawing up short tactical plans on particular fields of work, mainly education, recruitment, branch building and expansion, and leading local mass struggles.

All other intermediate committees at the next level are also irregular. They are still skeletal and without executive committees and secretariats for better administration and leadership.

All committees have particularized the one and a half year regional program, have conducted assessments and criticism and self-criticism (their depth and comprehensiveness is a different matter).

In general, these committees have been able to effectively lead in their respective scope though some weakness need to be overcome. Two committees went through difficulties resolving internal contradictions and contradictions between the individual and those he led.

Majority of our still sparse cadre forces in the territories were recruited from the middle of the '80s to early '90s. A deep-going evaluation of cadres is necessary for setting up the regular intermediate Party committees has never been done in the past. The committees which began as "reaching out" units during the period of the splitting activities of the Popoy clique have generally maintained their cadre composition.

Due to the delay in our assessment of cadres, we could not immediately form even a few regular intermediate committees that

could effectively assist in the building of Party branches and groups to ensure the Party's close links with the basic masses.

Regional staff units are still being consolidated, their rank and file as well as cadre composition strengthened, and the orientation and function of each line work developed in line with the regional program and on the basis of the actual situation. All these units have gone through several changes of personnel and modification of function. They also experienced low morale and had internal contradictions that took a long time to resolve.

Notwithstanding internal problems and the disruptions that hit the regional leadership, centralized and collective leadership was basically maintained. With leading cadres in the region and territories shouldering additional tasks to the extent possible, we were able to continue with our work. We drafted the March 1995-December 1996 program, held regular assessments, made important decisions and resolutions and conducted criticism and self-criticism.

In between regional Party committee meetings, the territorial staff organs and the Party group in the regional union center assumed their tasks and leadership in their respective spheres.

There were also cases of violation of democratic centralism and organizational discipline by the very comrades expected to help in the ideological building of the Party which were openly witnessed by comrades and forces at the lower level. This resulted in contradiction between these comrades and the units that they led, and put the prestige of our Party in the region into question. Our moral authority to enforce discipline and policies on lower units and forces was seriously shaken.

We have decisively and formally withdrawn the Party membership of former comrades who have refused or who have been unable to rectify serious errors. This has helped to raise the morale of key and principal cadres in the region and enhance confi-

dence in the leadership and firmed up their resolve to pursue the rectification movement.

The leading committee made every effort to study the needs of our units and their work, give timely guidance and correctly focus our overall efforts. But we still have a long way to go in the matter of giving strategic and tactical leadership and especially in ensuring the correct balance between consolidation and expansion.

Most of our Party organs and units were able to hold regular and special meetings. Intermediate committees are generally able to allot sufficient time for assessments, planning and study. On the other hand, the discussion of matters for deliberation has not been exhaustive enough due to the lack of preparation of individual members and the leading cadre.

Adequate preparation is necessary for meetings to become more substantial and focus on more comprehensive and wide-ranging matters. Leading committees must learn to distance themselves from the day-to-day monitoring of their units and cadres which preoccupy them in matters that are best left to the lower units.

We required the submission of monthly reports, and comprehensive reports every six months, outside of special reports. However, our guide for reporting was not appropriately modified to meet the needs of meetings/assessments. At first, the systematization of reports was left to the individual units' knowledge of the existing standard. Lately, we have been able to draft a reporting guide but it was still short of our needs, confused on the standard and concentrated only on the quantitative aspect. Intermediate committees have not been able to submit timely reports and if at all, data are inconsistent.

We must review Party guidelines on reporting and modify it to suit our particular situation. Subsequently, these have to be distributed to and studied anew by all Party committees and members.

The serious vulnerability of our Party organization and underground movement to the surveillance and attack of the enemy remains. In fact, the gravity of this problem has a major bearing on our resolve to advance the Second Great Rectification Movement and our continued advance in the immediate future.

The mode of basing of leading regional cadres and the holding of meetings and study sessions even of lower committees have radically changed in a positive way. Problems still exist with the new system but their resolution is on a different level.

The great majority of units and cadres at the lower levels still have numerous fixed points and are lax in following the security regulations of the underground movement.

In the past, we tried to solve this problem through repeated resolutions to enforce the mode of deep-UG and by exhorting cadres and organizers to base themselves and live with the masses. However, our implementation has not been decisive.

We must strictly observe the policy of compartmentalization and avoid unnecessary exposure of forces from different collectives. We should propagate the regulations of the underground movement and our policies on security.

For the last one and a half years, we have primarily been dependent on subsidy from the higher organ for our financial needs. We have exerted efforts to develop the capacity of lower territorial units and branches to be self-reliant and to support their respective full-timers in order to minimize our subsidy from the higher organ. At present, a few territorial units are self-reliant though their manner of fund generation is still unstable.

We still have to systematize our fund generation based on our political work, from the contributions of the masses and from the monthly dues of Party members to attain self-reliance. We have to ensure the formation and operation of our machinery for fund generation #

The Second Great Rectification Movement Continues to Deepen in VIQ

**Communiqué of the Executive Committee
of the VIQ Regional Party Committee
April 1997**

The cadres and members of the CPP and the NPA in the Vizcaya-Isabela-Quirino (VIQ) region continue to advance and deepen the Party's Second Great Rectification Movement. Our adherence to it has been decisive in preventing the complete destruction of the revolutionary forces in the region despite the unprecedented losses brought about by serious deviations and errors. This has also been decisive in the resolute drive of the Party, the people's army and the mass movement in the region to restrengthen themselves.

The erroneous line of premature regularization and insurrectionism had greatly weakened the Party, the army and the mass movement and made them vulnerable to the enemy's attacks. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the SGRM has decisively rescued the revolutionary movement from declining further. By launching this movement, we have identified, criticized and rectified the major forms of the serious deviations and errors in the region. The masses welcome the sincere criticism and self-criticism and resolute efforts of the Party and army to rectify errors in the course of restressing work at the basic level. Thanks to the rectification movement, the US-Ramos regime, like the previous US-Marcos and US-Aquino regimes, has failed to defeat the revolution, and we continue to fulfill the requirements for an all-sided, solid and sustained advance of the people's democratic revolution.

The revolution is sure to advance. Guided by the rectification movement, the Party will be able to effectively lead the people

in their struggle to advance the new-democratic revolution amid the deepening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system, amid the general crisis of global capitalism. The conditions are favorable for advancing the armed revolution to a new and higher stage.

Advances, errors and damage

The armed revolution in Northern Luzon started in 1969 and swiftly expanded within the context of the Party's First Great Rectification Movement and under the direction of the Party's central leadership itself. About 100 Barrio Organizing Committees (BOC) and Barrio Revolutionary Committees (BRC), covering some 150,000 people, were set up in Isabela. The masses benefited from the antifeudal struggles and the suppression of cattle rustlers, informers and other bad elements.

In a bid to nip in the bud the growing revolutionary movement in the region, the Armed Forces of the Philippines launched a prolonged and extensive campaign of "encirclement and suppression" coupled with the forced mass evacuation of more than 50,000 people from Isabela during the latter part of 1972. The companies of the NPA, instead of spreading out to other places in the region where the masses could be found and the conditions more favorable for revolution, ensconced themselves in the forest region which had been emptied of its population and under encirclement by large enemy formations. The Party and army lost more than 70 percent of their strength as a result of this error.

Under the guidance of the central leadership, the regional conference of the Party in Northeastern Luzon was successfully launched in 1977. The eight-year experience was summed-up and the conference grasped the correctness of Chairman Amado Guerrero's message stating *that it is foolhardy to remain in an area where the masses are absent, that base-building primarily means building a mass base and does not primarily depend on a*

geographical terrain, that within an area military activities neither related to nor serving mass work constitute military adventurism and the practice of roving rebels

In accordance with the calls made in the message and in the light of the basic principles and practical guide as enunciated by Our Urgent Tasks (OUT) and the Specific Characteristics of Our People's War (SCPW) and other Party documents, the revolutionary tasks were advanced anew. The areas of operation expanded in the mountains and plains, in the interior and along the highways, in haciendas and even in the frontiers. In the relatively consolidated portions of the guerrilla zones, the minimum objectives of the agrarian revolution were carried out and in the newly opened areas, mutual aid and cooperation among the poor and lower-middle peasants and initial anti-landlord struggles were promoted and systematized.

We developed the legal democratic mass movement in the urban centers and this facilitated directly and indirectly the expansion and consolidation of the forces and guerrilla zones in the countryside.

All units then were assigned to mass work. However, by the early 1980s, under the so-called transformation program, the Party machinery in charge of mass work was separated from the machinery assigned to military work. This was supposedly for the purpose of implementing the tasks in the advanced substage of the people's war—the preparation of the requirements for the SCO, of which the main content was the formation of guerrilla units devoted entirely to military work. Although the units attending to mass work then were still more than those attending to purely military work, the latter were on the uptrend and military actions were being undertaken to the detriment of mass work until it became difficult to cover some municipalities. In the municipalities of the northern district of Isabela, we implemented in 1982 the concept of linking guerrilla bases and zones through military

actions to drive off the enemy camps lying as "barriers" in between. There was the belief that tactical offensives could take the place of painstaking mass work in expanding to such "problematic" towns as Tumauini.

We were forced to leave the northern district when the enemy took the offensive against our tactical offensives and our intensified antifascist mass protest actions. Our small consolidated areas where the tactical offensives were launched and from where came the people to launch successive protest actions stood out as targets of the enemy and were isolated. We were also forced to leave Hacienda San Antonio - Sta. Isabela. We neglected the work of building the solid strength of the basic masses. The provincial Party committee became obsessed with launching large mass mobilizations and with the hope of igniting an insurrection from the mass struggles in the hacienda and the surrounding areas of the Mallig region. The moves of the revolutionary forces then were all geared to furthering the erroneous SCO line.

Expansion was rapid during the 1984-86 period, it built upon the initial victories of laying, expanding and consolidating the guerrilla zones in accordance with Our Urgent Tasks. An additional factor was the extremely favorable political situation in the country. However, a large part of the rapid expansion came from the haphazard organizing work of the guerrilla and partisan units and from the hasty organizing of the masses for mass campaigns and mobilizations according to the tempo set by the legal national peasant alliance. A large number of recruits did not come up to standards.

The increase in the number of barrios where we could operate, the increased number of those who could be mobilized for marches to the provincial capitols and to Manila, the increase of weapons confiscated from the enemy as well as of enemy casualties—which were used as the most important measure for advance—were regarded as the product of "new tactics, methods and

direction" It encouraged being content with just widespread antifascist mass consciousness, which led to the neglect of solid organizing and the painstaking raising of the consciousness of the masses regarding the nature of the two-stage Philippine revolution. With the quickened pace of the struggle, consolidation was further neglected and so was tempering of the proletarian viewpoint, standpoint and method of Party members and cadres. It did not take long before the leadership of the Party within the army was weakened.

The disorientation worsened with regard to upholding "local strategy". In Vizcaya-Quirino, the "local strategy" of seeking to achieve "strategic stalemate" earlier than in other parts of the country was formulated and implemented in 1987-88. In Isabela there were the "cock-aim-discharge" (*kasa-hasa-bulwak*), the military campaigns and military counter-campaigns in Isabela in the 1986-89 period—all these systematized and aggravated military adventurism and insurrectionism in the attempt to respond to and keep pace with the three-year target for advancing the SCO nationwide.

Indeed, there were the increases in the number of confiscated weapons and in the number of enemy casualties resulting from improved techniques and tactics of battle. However, at the same time, because of the worsening military adventurism and commandism, the relationship and unity of the Army and masses weakened, and cracks developed in the unity of officers and men. Battles which prejudiced other tasks and which were undertaken with utter disregard for political requirements and the harm wrought on the mass base and the mass movement increased.

The peasant movement was drawn more and more into open mobilizations to demand from the reactionary government and the businessmen-usurers a reform in the method of pricing and payment for agricultural produce-fertilizer-pesticides-irrigation and became drawn farther and farther away from the tasks for

advancing the agrarian revolution within the framework of the armed revolution.

Even "white area" work was drawn away from the leadership of the regional committee. The church sector became increasingly preoccupied with internal questions and distanced itself from the struggles of the basic masses which formerly they resolutely supported and participated in. The "distinct dynamism" concept of the movement in the cities and urban centers encouraged the accumulation of forces only for the requirements of the "white areas" and not for the armed revolution in the countryside. In the long haul, we lost the capability to mobilize large forces even for the urban struggles due to the various disorientations and weaknesses flowing from influences of reformism, populism, legalism and NGOism, the neglect of ideological, political and organizational consolidation, and rising currents of bourgeois individualism and feudal ideology.

The revolutionary forces intensified "military" and "political" struggles. They overextended and spent their strength in pursuit of the adventurist illusion that "local stalemate" could be achieved through military adventurism and insurrection even as reformism and legalism had undermined the mass movement. The revolutionary forces in the region made themselves more and more vulnerable to the enemy's strategy and tactics of "total war" and "gradual constriction" from 1987 onward. By 1987-89, our strength had significantly declined from what had been accumulated over one decade starting from 1977.

By 1989 the revolutionary forces had become even more confused because they could not stop their decline and were helpless amid the further worsening of problems. They incurred huge losses from the AFP's military campaigns: Oplan Delta Buster in the Vizcaya-Quirino region in 1988, the Oplan Red Buster in Isabela in mid-1987 and the continuation of Lambat-Bitag since 1988.

In 1990, the revolutionary movement here was forced to carry out partial rectification in the balance and emphasis of tasks, attend to the consolidation of the forces, escape the enemy's encirclement and reach out anew to abandoned guerrilla zones, recover the mass base and rebuild the open mass movement. The problems were not thoroughly analyzed and resolved. It was only towards the second half of 1992 after we had gotten hold of the first draft of *Reaffirm our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors*, prepared by Chairman Armando Liwanag, and subsequently in early 1993 when we had further propagated within the region the SGRM of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee that we were able to initially link our problems to, and put them within the context of, the deviations from the line and basic principles of the Party

It took some time before we could grasp the relevance and application of the rectification movement on our own practice and our losses persisted.

In the early part of 1993, led by the higher organ, we studied the documents and resolutions of the 10th Plenum of the CC during the Northern Luzon interregional conference. As a result of this study, we in the region stood firmly for launching the rectification movement and for repudiating the opportunist traitors. We also made an initial review of our past experiences in the region, based on the analysis and clarifications made by the CC's 10th Plenum

Notwithstanding our determination to uphold the SGRM in its analysis of the entire Party's experience, we were not able to grasp fully nor to apply thoroughly the analysis on our own experience and practice. Before 1993, the main force of what was then the undersized NL battalion had been in the region and we made one more thrust towards military adventurism. We disregarded even the lessons which we had identified in the initial review of past

experiences and strong current of military adventurism persisted within the region.

The degree of adventurism and prevalence of the purely military viewpoint in the military actions planned and undertaken in the 1992-94 period exceeded that in our experience in the past. Among the glaring errors are the adventurist stand to defend the central area (1992-94) and the southern front (1993-94), the attritive defense of our regional headquarters, the militarist campaign to destroy the so-called intelligence nets of the enemy and the equally militarist method of banning carabao logging which alienated us from a lot of people. Until 1995, we continued to maintain the command structure existing before the rectification movement – the ROC, FOCs and staffs – despite the extreme lack of cadres for other important work in the ideological, political and organizational fields — and we continued to hold meetings in quick succession.

The military actions inflicted larger damage on ourselves than on the enemy: large numbers of our weapons were lost and the negative impact stands out, especially in terms of the exhaustion of and damage to our forces and mass base, as well as the adverse political effect which until now we are still trying to overcome.

We also overextended ourselves in two provincewide and many other interbarrio mobilizations for the Malay (Mais and Palay) Campaign to support the demand for raising farmgate prices and other demands of all the strata of the peasantry—from the government's calamity support fund to such other issues as prices of commodities, fare, irrigation and others. We further neglected the building of solid strength among the poor and lower-middle peasants and farm workers, which was the most urgent task demanding our attention in the region.

Driven by our desire to complete the SGRM, our VIQ regional Party leadership in 1993-94 focused its attention on the preparations for and holding of the regional conference. But the

“conference” held in 1994 failed to make a correct summing-up of past experiences and lacked proper guidance from as well as participation of the central leadership, thus it did not help but instead further complicated our problems and created obstacles to advancing the rectification movement.

The erroneous line continued to inflict harm. The momentum in the decline of our area of operation, mass base and full-time forces also continued.

Grasping the local relevance of the SGRM, rectification and arrest in the decline

Towards the end of 1995 with the help of the higher organ, our cadres deepened their understanding of the basic principles of the Party and their application of the lessons so far drawn from our own experiences in the course of our rectification campaign.

The erroneous “local strategy” of the former VQ Provincial Party Committee and the “cock-aim-discharge” and “counterstrategy” of the former Isabela Provincial Party Committee—the local version of SCO in 1986-90, and the continued “regularization” of the NPA fighting units, command and staff in carrying out “some elements of regular mobile warfare” in 1991-92—were intensively analyzed and criticized. Also analyzed and criticized were the tactical offensives loudly proclaiming our supposed “breaking out from enemy encirclement” and “drawing off the AFP troops concentrating attack on the Cordilleras” in 1991-93, and also the persistent reformist influence on the mass movement and the persistent insurrectionist wind.

In 1995-96, the vestiges of military adventurism were decisively corrected. The vestiges consisted of the tactic of “regular and positional” defense of the regional headquarters in face of the sustained and massive enemy attack in 1993-94, the related “campaign” to destroy the supposed intelligence network of the enemy and the militarist method of implementing the log ban. In 1996,

we lowered our unattainably high targets for political work and dismantled our top-heavy structure in order to redeploy our forces and enable them to attend to the tasks at the basic level and to the internal consolidation of the Party and people's army.

It has only been a year since we applied ourselves actively to the tasks of the rectification movement at the regional level and we still have many shortcomings with regard to advancing the movement in particular army units. Thus, there are yet no substantial results to be seen in terms of expansion in our areas of operation, increases in the number of mass organizations and increases in the number of full-time NPA personnel. The achievements are perceivable more in the deeper grasp of the basic principles, in the voluntary and honest criticism of errors and efforts to rectify these, in the profundity of the lessons drawn from summing up experiences, in the reorganization and reorientation of the people's army machinery in our drive to deploy it to mass work, and in the efforts to ensure the collective leadership of the Party in various important areas of our work. They are also perceivable in the steady restrengthening of the masses' trust and their renewed enthusiasm in caring for the Party and the people's army. Overall, we can say that our units are still honing their skills at mass work within the correct framework.

**Reorienting the NPA, advancing along the line
of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare
with an ever expanding and deepening mass base**

As soon as we grasped the import of the rectification movement, we redeployed our full-time guerrillas and a large number of our regional staff personnel to attend to mass work. We have put them through retraining, studies and training on mass work. Our attention is principally focused on laying out the tasks on mass work at the basic level as the foundation for advancing extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare, as the reservoir from which to

draw renewed strength for the people's army and for ensuring victories in military work. Deeply etched into the consciousness of all comrades is the lesson that *we can never succeed in raising the level of the revolution if the organized forces of the masses continue to weaken and even if momentarily we can confiscate plenty of weapons from the enemy and thus raise the combat capability of the people's army.* We have seen that the continued expansion and growth of the people's army depends on its effective unity with the masses, its participation in mass work and its support from the masses.

The proletarian revolutionary line of building the army is being promoted as we combat the bourgeois line in military work. First is ensuring the absolute leadership of the Party over the army, which can be immediately seen in the leadership of the Party committee in the army units, in the army's earnest effort to shoulder the political tasks and objectives of the revolution and to put politics in command of all tasks, in the propagation of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought within the people's army and in the strengthening of conscious iron discipline based on class consciousness and standpoint.

Our Red fighters are consciously undertaking self-criticism among the masses and are sincerely drawing them out to voice their own criticism and grievances over past and current actions of the people's army. This is part of forging the closest unity with the masses and constant remoulding and strengthening of the Party and people's army.

Mass work and mass struggles

Despite grave deviations, errors and weaknesses of the Party over a long period, the people's regard for and commitment to the Party, the people's army and revolutionary movement continue to be positive, and have become more so when they learned of the rectification movement that we are undertaking. The masses seek

the Party's leadership and the operation of the people's army in their localities as their support in solving social problems, especially against extreme exploitation, oppression and terrorism by the exploiting classes.

The sufferings of the peasant masses are worse than ever before. Various forms of feudal and semifeudal exploitation have worsened. Landgrabbing has intensified, so have other economic and social problems. The problems of the masses in the localities have worsened since the destruction of the revolutionary mass organizations in the guerrilla zones.

The enemy's forces and detachments in the guerrilla zones in the region consist of at least a regular brigade. However, the small units of the people's army are able to effectively move around and maintain initiative through guerrilla tactics and by depending on mass support.

We have gained initial successes from regrouping the former activists and members of organizing groups and organizing committees in the barrios. However, we have only started to reorganize and build the basic mass organizations in the barrios.

We have put renewed emphasis on social investigation and understanding the concrete agrarian relations, on exposing and attacking various forms of feudal and semifeudal exploitation and on mobilizing the masses in antifeudal struggles and other campaigns to address the problems of the people in the barrios.

We have undertaken small-scale mobilizations for advancing the minimum objectives of the agrarian revolution through which the masses in a number of barrios in a number of towns have gained some benefit.

Militant legal mass actions have been carried out. Biggest among these were those undertaken by the peasants and national minorities against the destructive Casecanan Dam project being pushed by the US-Ramos regime and the Arimeco, a mining company owned by foreign monopoly capitalist and local big

comprador-landlords. Student-youth, church people, professionals and some tactical allies have supported the peasants.

The struggles of the student-youth and teachers in a number of public and private schools in Isabela and Quirino have gained vigor and militancy. They struggle for democratic rights and assail corrupt high officials and policies which run against the interests of the students, teachers and school employees. Outstanding as well have been the protest actions and organizing among health workers and others affected by the devolution policy of the US-Ramos regime.

The urban mass movement is guided by the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countrysides. It upholds the importance of supporting and serving the armed revolution in the countryside, particularly of producing forces to join the people's army.

Rectification and consolidation of the Party

The study of Party documents to clarify theoretical and practical questions in advancing the new democratic revolution in the country and the international proletarian movement is vigorous. The Basic Course of the Party is being propagated especially among members who have yet to study this. Individual reading and study of the reference materials of the Party's courses is also widespread. However, much more effort in theoretical study is needed to raise and deepen the theoretical knowledge of the cadres and members of the Party in the region.

In our "white areas", the timely propagation in 1992-93 of the rectification movement and the summing-up of the experiences of the peasant movement helped us to secure our forces, and also to fight certain anti-Party elements who plotted to form factions and penetrate our urban centers in the region.

The Party organization continues to deepen its understanding of the lessons from past experiences. It continues to deepen its criticism and rectification of the grave deviations and errors which

took concrete form in our practice in the past. We are systematically looking into and consciously gathering the observations and criticisms from the masses and our own comrades on our past weaknesses and shortcomings. These serve to deepen the rectification movement and strengthen the bonds of the Party and people's army with the masses.

We continue to carry out the rectification movement in the urban centers of the region. Particular attention is being given to the continuing consolidation of our cadres and members and expansion of the underground movement, reorientation and redeployment towards solid mass work among the peasants, student-youth, women, professionals and other basic sectors - from former office-based work. There is a significant improvement in the deployment of collectives to the major lines of work.

Our Party cadres and members in the region persevere in laying the solid foundation for an all-round and sustained advance of the new-democratic revolution. However, we must exert more effort to fully carry out the rectification movement in the region and overcome the big damage wrought by errors in the past. It is not easy to overcome the big damage, problems and weaknesses brought about by the deviations and errors; nor is it easy to overcome the vestiges of disorientation among the cadres and members of the Party and people's army in the region. We continue to situate and address the outstanding problems and issues within the framework of deepening the rectification movement and further consolidating the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally.

We are confident of overcoming our weaknesses despite the intense military and psy-war attacks being launched against us by the US-Ramos regime and its counterrevolutionary lackeys, the revisionists and petty-bourgeois reformists. This is because in the main, the Party has decisively rectified the major weaknesses and

deviations, the erroneous line of military adventurism and insurrectionism

The regional organization is determined to carry out the second great rectification movement through to the end and strengthen itself on the basis of the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in order to advance the armed revolution to a new and higher level. #