

PHILIPPINE CRISIS
AND REVOLUTION

Ten Lectures

by

JOSE MARIA SISON

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE PHILIPPINE CRISIS

First in a Series of Lectures on PHILIPPINE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION
by Jose Maria Sison
Delivered at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines

The main thrust of this discussion is to trace the historical roots of the chronic and current crisis that afflicts semicolonial and semifeudal Philippine society. Causing this crisis are US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These must be seen in the historical flux in order to explicate them in general yet sufficiently concrete terms.

For a background in depth, we need to discuss first the pre-colonial societies in the archipelago that has come to be known as the Philippines as well as the colonial and feudal society that was brought about by Spanish colonialism. Then we can discuss the semifeudal society that was brought about by US imperialism through its semicolonial and semifeudal periods in Philippine history.

In dealing with such distinct social formation, we will present the mode of production and superstructure and seek to account for the shift from one social formation to another. The main objective is to devote the most attention to the present semicolonial and semifeudal society, the outgrowth of fascist dictatorship and the new situation after the overthrow of the Marcos despotism.

Pre-colonial Societies

In the strict disciplinary sense of history based on ample written records, Philippine history started in the 16th century with the Spanish chronicles. From these, assisted by archeological, ethnolinguistic, anthropological and protohistoric data, we can have fairly good idea of pre-colonial societies in the Philippines.

The dominant social formation in the 16th century Philippines upon the advent of Spanish colonialism was to be found in riverine and maritime areas peoples by the current major ethno-linguistic groups like the Ilocanos, Ibanags, Kapampangans, Tagalogs, Bicolanos, Cebuanos, Warays, Hiligaynons, Tausugs Maranaws and the like. Out of a total population of one million, probably 80 percent were in these communities.

There were socio-economically integral communities with populations ranging up to 20,000 like those of Jolo and Manila. The mode of production had elements of slavery and serfdom.

Wet rice agriculture was supplemented by dry rice agriculture. Handicraft, such as earthen pottery, weaving, blacksmithing and boat building were well developed. There were no megalithic structures but the wooden houses of the uppermost class were large and boats as large as the caracao (capable of carrying 50 to 100 passengers for trade and war) were commonplace.

As ruling class, the datu families owned the slaves, the metal tools, animals, the boats and the wet rice lands. The slaves did not have a share of their produce but the serfs had a share or paid tribute in kind to datu and freemen. There was also an intermediate class of freemen who owned their tools and wet rice land, and had a share of dry rice land and kept their produce.

There was trading with the hill tribes. There was wide-ranging inter-island trade going beyond the ethno-linguistic boundaries. There was trade within Southeast Asia and with China and Japan. the most important commodities traded were porcelain, silk, and metal products from China, and beeswax, hardwood, rice, cotton, tortoise shells and other tropical products from the country.

The highest socio-political formation was the Sulu sultanate. Under the Sultan, a ruling council whose officer had well defined functions assisted him in his autocratic rule. There was a well-developed structure of political and religious leaders.

In other areas, the rajah or the leading datu in a conglomerate of barangays ruled either autocratically or was reliant on a council of datu in

varying degrees. Barangays (the basic social unit of the times) often cohered on the basis of tribute making, trade or war.

In addition to the existence of social classes and the use of metallurgy, literacy was widespread enough to make the pre-colonial societies civilized. Islam had taken root since the 14th century in the Sulu archipelago and portions of mainland Mindanao, and was being proselytized up to Manila. But animism and polytheism held sway in most areas of the country. Among the art forms flourishing were the song, instrumental music, poetry, ritualistic drama, carvings, tattooing, jewelry making, earthen pottery, weaving.

Colonial and Feudal Society

Capitalism at its manufacturing stage was burgeoning in Spain in the 15th century. It became the driving force behind Spanish mercantilism and colonialism which came to the Philippines in the 16th century. Through her colonial expeditions and plunder, Spain contributed much to the primitive accumulation of capital in Europe but economic development in Spain itself would stagnate.

In the more than 300 years of colonial rule in the Philippines up to the closing years of the 19th century Spanish colonialism effected the formation of a colonial and feudal society over most of the northern Malay archipelago - the Philippines.

In the first 100 years of Spanish colonial rule, the encomienda system was used to integrate the small, disparate precolonial societies; collect tribute, spread the Catholic faith; and organize labor and military conscription. This feudal-military device was transitional to the formation of a colonial and feudal society.

Since the onset of their rule, Spanish colonial authorities undertook sheer colonial plunder to serve the Manila-Acapulco trade and sustain themselves in administering the country, pacifying the recalcitrant natives and living in comfort. The Manila-Acapulco trade was so profitable because the galleons were made out of timber cut and hauled by conscripted labor, constructed also by conscripted labor and rowed by penal slaves. Moreover, there was the unrecorded sale of cheap rice and cotton to the Chinese merchant fleets.

In the latter part of the 18th century when feudalism had greatly developed, the Spanish colonial authorities decided to promote large scale cultivation of export crops due to the increasing demand for such crops from the industrial capitalist countries of Europe (especially Britain) and also due to the waning of the Manila-Acapulco trade.

In the 19th century, foreign trade involving Philippine agricultural exports and foreign manufactured imports pushed the maturation of feudalism and resulted in the emergence of the commodity system within the natural economy. Certain areas specialized in export crops and others areas is staple crops for domestic consumption. Agricultural specialization pushed the accumulation of land by friar and native landlords as well as domestic trade.

Eventually, the Spanish colonial system - dependent on plunder through taxation and trading monopolies - was clearly seen as an obstruction to the development of export-oriented agriculture and to foreign trade with industrial countries.

By arbitrarily expanding their landed estates and raising land rent, the friars were clearly seen by the people as the chief feudal exploiters in the country. Of course, having been the main all-round administrative support at the local level for the colonial rulers, the friars were hated by the people for accumulated sins of racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation.

In fact, a theocratic state prevailed in the Philippines. There was unity of church and state. The friars were under royal patronage and were an instrument of colonial policy. They had widespread presence and dominated the local native officials who were restricted to the municipal level of administrative authority.

The political and moral prestige of the friars was first impugned on a wide scale by the rise of the secularization movement which demanded the replacement of the friars by secular priest who were natives. But it was the social unrest among the native leaseholders and tenants in friar estates which led to the most dramatic repressive colonial measures and in turn incited peasant resistance.

The Catholic church was the principal cultural institution in the country. It exercised ideological-theological monopoly. The type of education it promoted on the widest possible scale was catechetical.

Up to the middle of the 19th century, the natives in significant number who reached the level of higher education were the secular priest. It would only be subsequently that a significant number of the children of the native landlords and merchants would reach the college level and take on non-religious courses.

Philippine Revolution

The Philippine Revolution of 1896 was the first national and democratic response of the Filipino people to colonial and feudal domination. The leading class of this revolution was the ilustrado class. It consisted essentially of the

educated children of landlord, bureaucratic and merchant families who adopted the ideology of the liberal bourgeoisie.

At first, in the 1880s, the ilustrados like Jose Rizal took the reformist line of seeking liberal reforms within the framework of Spanish colonialism. They carried out the propaganda movement in Spain because of the intolerable intellectual, political, and socio-economic conditions in the Philippine colony. The best of the reformists, like Jose Rizal and Marcelo H. del Pilar, were able to expose and criticize the worst features of colonialism and feudalism.

Upon the total frustration of the reformist movement, culminating in the suppression of La Liga Filipina and arrest of Jose Rizal (the most ambitious organizational project of the liberal reformists), the Katipunan was established and emerged as the political organization of the revolutionary liberal bourgeoisie to lead the Filipino nation in fighting for national independence against Spanish colonialism.

The principal leader and founder, Andres Bonifacio, was himself an enlightened worker. Membership was drawn from the enlightened urban petty bourgeoisie, workers and other urban poor, peasants, and the rest of the people. The exposure of the Katipunan to the friars and the subsequent crackdown led to the outbreak of the Revolution of 1896.

This revolution may be described as a national and bourgeois liberal revolution. But unlike the bourgeois liberal revolutions of Europe, this was not motivated by an existent manufacturing or industrial capitalism. The Filipino revolutionary leaders were bourgeois liberal by enlightenment outside friar schools, and by aspiration for a thriving industry and commerce, something they had observed in Europe.

Manufacturing in the Philippines was still negligible. The best of this was cigar manufacturing which had started in an earlier century. The development of manufacturing in general was stifled by the importation of manufactured goods.

While the Filipino nation was disadvantaged in the unequal exchange of manufactured goods and agricultural export crops, the ever rising exactions of the colonial authorities and friars made the colonial and feudal society intolerable to the Filipino people. The native landlords, merchants, bureaucrat, workers and peasant were incensed by the colonial oppression.

The most numerous class of the peasantry was the most exploited. As in the liberal democratic revolution in Europe, the peasantry became the main force of the Philippine Revolution. But with regard to the land question, the Filipino liberal revolutionaries centered their anti-feudal attack on the friar landlords.

As far as extirpating Spanish colonialism was concerned, the old democratic revolution of 1896 was successful. The Philippine Revolutionary Government and Army under Emilio Aguinaldo were able to win victory on a nationwide scale. A revolutionary congress in early 1899 was able to put the Malolos Constitution as the fundamental law of the Filipino nation.

This constitution upheld the national sovereignty and independence of the Filipino people; the principles of a republican and democratic government; a bill of rights; the separation of church and state; and the nationalization of the friar estates.

The Filipino revolutionary movement pushed forward a national and democratic culture. It was inspired by a progressive ideology. It issued publications, and promoted cultural works. It set up the prototype of a university, and put together Filipino professionals in the social and natural sciences.

US imperialism intervened to interrupt the Filipino revolution. It employed superior military force and the language of conservative liberalism in order to defeat the revolution and conquer the nation. The Filipino revolutionaries were not ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared to frustrate and carry out protracted revolutionary war against an industrial capitalist power.

When the revolution spread to the provinces away from those with friar estates, the native landlord class which adopted a patriotic stand increased their part and influence in the Philippine government. This government, therefore, was in no position to inspire the peasantry to engage in a protracted people's war on the basis of struggling against both US imperialism and feudalism.

Colonial and Semifeudal Society

The defeat of the Philippine Revolution resulted in the direct colonial rule of modern imperialism or monopoly capitalism, the highest stage of capitalism, over the Philippines. Capitalism in the U.S. had advanced from the stage of free competition in the 19th century to that of monopoly capitalism in the 20th century.

Monopolies had become dominant in the American economy. Bank capital, traditionally merchant, had merged with industrial capital. U.S. capitalism was impelled to export not only its surplus commodities but also its surplus capital. In the competition among capitalist powers, the United States was looking after its own monopoly interests. Through monopolies, trusts, syndicates, cartels and the like, the United States had moved into a world

epoch of intense struggle for colonial and semicolonial domination. The struggle for a redivision of the world among the colonial powers led to war.

The defeat of the Philippine Revolution also resulted in the nonsolution and the retention of feudalism. U.S. monopoly capitalism immediately adapted feudalism as its all-round social base. However, within the first decade of the 20th century, it expropriated most of the friar estates for redistribution and opened the public land for resettlement by the landless peasants.

The token land reform undertaken by the US colonial rule remains, to this day, the largest of its kind. But the landlord class would continue to accumulate land and would take over even the redistributed land from the friar estates as well as the resettled land of the public domain.

Under the aegis of US dominated "free trade," the unequal exchange of agricultural exports and manufactured imports which started under Spanish colonialists through outright plunder expanded, especially because the involvement of the Spanish colonialists through outright plunder had been removed. The U.S. brought in investments for the establishment of sugar mills and the slight processing of some agricultural products. It also developed mining and the production of mineral ores for export.

In the interaction of US monopoly capitalism and domestic feudalism what may be termed as a semifeudal economy prevailed in the country. A Filipinized comprador big bourgeoisie became the dominant class on top of the landlord class under Spanish colonial rule. This import-export elite had been entirely foreign in the 19th century.

The comprador big bourgeoisie had dominated the essentially commercial cities of the Philippines. It acted as the trading and financial agent of the foreign monopoly firms. It was a matter of course that the big compradors also accumulated land as their reliable supply base for export crops. Thus we often speak of the big comprador-landlord class. But the landlord class remained a distinct class dominating the countryside and accumulating land for the production of export crops and staple crops for domestic consumption.

Direct US colonial rule lasted up to the outbreak of World War II. The United States immediately conceded local administration up to the provincial level to elective and appointive native officials. It also gradually appointed Filipinos to positions in the national bureaucracy and to legislative assemblies.

These assemblies went through stages of development - from the purely appointive Filipino-American Philippine Assembly under the Organic Law of 1902 through the elective Bicameral Assembly under the Jones Law of 1916 to the National Assembly under the Tydings-McDuffie Law and the 1935

Constitution. Also, under the Philippine Commonwealth government, the president of the Philippines was elected, but at the same time subject to the authority of the United States.

For the first time in Philippine history, political parties were allowed to exist and operated openly and legally. But of course, the puppet party called the Federalista Party was sponsored by the US colonial authorities even while they suppressed patriotic parties and organizations. Eventually the Nacionalista Party, which adapted the slogan of "immediate, complete and absolute independence," became dominant within the parameters of US colonial rule.

As soon US colonial rule started, it coopted the ilustrado leadership of the revolution and the entire range of professional and technically qualified men. They were immediately absorbed into the bureaucracy and businesses. And the United States rapidly expanded the educational system in order to produce more professionals and technician for the rapidly expanding bureaucracy and businesses. The pensionado system was adopted to put the most brilliant Filipinos through American indoctrination mills in the US itself.

The official ideology imposed by the United States on the Philippine educational and cultural system was supposed to be liberal democracy. But this was merely sugar-coating for the colonial rule of monopoly capitalist power. This conservative liberalism can counter to the anticolonial progressive liberalism of the old democratic revolution.

Semicolonial and Semifeudal Society

After World War II, the United States gave up direct colonial rule in conformity with the Tydings-McDuffie Law and the Philippine Constitution. But before nominally granting independence to the Philippines, the United States made sure that it would continue to dominate the Philippines economically, politically, militarily, culturally and diplomatically.

The US took advantage of the devastation caused by the war. War damage payments were granted only in exchange for the maintenance of free trade and US ownership of public utilities and natural resources-based enterprises under the Parity Amendment and the Bell Trade Act. Subsequently, this privilege would be prolonged under the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

At any rate, most of the war damage payments went to US firms, high bureaucrat, big compradors and landlords. The U.S. reconquest resulted in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the semifeudal economy. The foreign trade enterprises, public utilities, plantations and agricultural mills, mining enterprises and agricultural-based processing plants, were restored.

Due to the rapid expansion of the lopsided exchange of undervalued raw material exports and overvalued manufactured imports, the Philippines suffered a severe foreign exchange crisis in 1949. Export and foreign exchange controls had to be imposed. The allocation of limited foreign exchange favored the importation of capital goods and other essential imports.

At the beginning, the US Bell Mission recommended this policy of controls. Eventually this would be rejected by the US in the late 50s. The growth of so-called import-substitution industries or import-dependent light manufacturing industries owned by the Filipino national bourgeoisie spawned the "Filipino First" policy. The Macapagal and the Marcos regimes would subsequently be used by the U.S. to counter the growing demand for national industrialization.

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank would emerge prominently from the early 60s onward to dictate economic, monetary and fiscal policies, encouraging high foreign borrowing and high spending for the infrastructures and mills of an export-oriented raw-material producing semifeudal economy.

The United States retained its military bases in the Philippines and thus continued to violate the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines. It also controlled the Armed Forces of the Philippines by the latter's dependence on US indoctrination, strategic planning, higher officer training and logistical support. US controls of the main component of state power makes it extremely subservient to US imperialism.

With Filipino puppet official assuming all positions in national administration, the phenomenon of bureaucrat capitalism became pronounced as never before. Increasingly, government officials made use of their public offices to raid the national treasury, cut into loan contracts and public projects, and amass capital assets and land.

The United States continued to control the Philippine educational system through education officials and cultural leaders who had been soaked in the US educational system. These propagated pro-imperialist and anti-communist ideas as did US textbooks and other cultural materials. The continued dominance of English over the national language facilitated the persistence of colonial mentality.

In the same way that US monopoly capitalism had superimposed itself on feudalism to produce a semifeudal economy, the modern factors of US cultural aggression overlaid and coordinated with the most reactionary local cultural factors, including the institutional Church, in order to produce a semifeudal and semicolonial culture. The mixture of medieval and pro-

imperialist values is often considered a split personality complex of the formally educated Filipino.

The Marcos Fascist Dictatorship

The semicolonial and semifeudal system is a social system in constant crisis. It is afflicted by two moribund forces: foreign monopoly capitalism and domestic feudalism. For these to persist and maintain their dominance, they restrict the growth of productive forces, and use political repression.

There is not a single decade in the 20th century that has not been marked by peasant social unrest and uprising since the utter failure of the token land reform undertaken by the US colonial regime. By the 1950s there were militant peasant movements and peasant uprisings in Central Luzon and Southern Luzon.

During the Japanese occupation, the peasant movement in Central Luzon was able to build a people's army against the fascist invader and weaken landlord power. After World War II, the first serious peasant war under the leadership of a proletarian party broke out. This was defeated through the Lavaite misleadership and the military superiority of the United States and the local reactionary classes.

It appeared that the land problem was relieved by the token land reform undertaken by the puppet regimes from Magsaysay to Marcos. But in fact, the peasants themselves tried spontaneously to relieve their land hunger by resettling on public land. But the land frontier available for spontaneous resettlement was exhausted towards the end of the 60s. Thus the entire country would be confronted by the problem of landless peasants and the proliferation of farm workers competing for fewer farms jobs in old settlements.

The worst of US monopoly capitalism as moribund force was of course felt during the Great Depression in the 1930s and explosion of World War II, which destroyed the productive forces of most capitalist countries, and many of the colonies and semicolonies. As a result of World War II more socialist countries arose and the national liberation movements spread widely to constrict the imperialist spheres of influence, areas of investments and markets.

After the reconstruction of the devastated countries, including Western Europe and Japan, there was the problem of the US accommodating these in the world capitalist market, including the colonies and semicolonies. In the 60s, the US decided to undertake the policy of pouring in loan capital into underdeveloped countries like the Philippines for purposes of building up their infrastructure, covering deficits in foreign trade and balance of

payments, and thus allowing the sale of manufactured supplies from capitalist countries which were already troubled by recurrent and prolonged bouts of recession and inflation.

This US policy was touted as one of development for the Philippine economy. But in fact this aggravated the agrarian, pre-industrial semifeudal character of the Philippine economy and put it into the quagmire of foreign indebtedness. The fact that foreign loan capital for nonindustrial purposes was far outrunning foreign direct investment for any productive enterprises, exposed the complete anti-industrial and counter-productive thrust of foreign monopoly capital. The Philippines was compelled to incur tremendous amounts of foreign debt, but could never pay this back on the basis of its perpetuated agrarian economy. Also, those import-dependent enterprises described as export-oriented manufacturing enterprises like those in garments and semi-conductors, were in fact more of dollar-draining devices, worse than the so-called import substitution enterprises of the 50s.

Under the conditions in which US imperialism and domestic feudalism became more and more exploitative and counterproductive, the fascist dictatorship of Marcos arose in 1972 upon the instigation of the US to suppress the resurgent anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement. The United States and the ruling puppet clique of Marcos were no longer capable of ruling in the old way with trappings of bourgeois liberal institution and processes.

It can also be stated that the entire ruling system of big compradors and big landlords could no longer rule in the old way and settle their difference amicably. At the same time, the revolutionary forces of the proletarian party, the peasant based people's army, and the national democratic movement were also demanding the end of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in favor of a national and democratic system.

The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique could prolong its rule for so long as foreign loans (which could never be paid back) and US bilateral assistance came in to assist the regime in undertaking infrastructure projects, coping with the first oil shock, beefing up the military and covering deficits in foreign trade and the balance of payments. In the entire span of the life of the fascist dictatorship, the raw material exports of the Philippines were depressed and could not yield any surplus in foreign trade.

Possessed with autocratic power, Marcos and his fascist clique undertook the most gigantic and worst bureaucrat capitalist plunder ever seen in Philippine history. Bureaucrat corruption augmented monopoly capitalist and feudal exploitation in plundering the country and sucking dry the blood of the Filipino people.

When foreign loans could be had only at extremely onerous terms starting in 1979, and subsequently foreign loans at whatever terms dwindled in the early 80s, the fascist dictatorship of Marcos shook from its foundation to its rafters, and eventually collapsed in 1986 under the blows of the toiling masses, the middle social strata and the anti-fascist sections of the reactionary classes.

The Current Situation

The inciting moment for the broadest possible range of antifascist forces to rise up against the Marcos despotism was the assassination of Benigno Aquino, Jr., in 1983. Since then the anti-Marcos and anti-fascist faction of the reactionary classes had moved to discredit the Marcos dictatorship.

It became possible to finally overthrow the Marcos fascist clique in 1986 because the revolutionary masses had conducted struggle since 1972, and even before that, because the United States and the Catholic Church came to fear that the prolonged stay of Marcos in power would hasten the victory of the armed revolution, and because all patriotic and progressive forces participated in the people's uprising that protected and supported the military forces breaking away from the regime.

But the toppling of the Marcos regime does not mean the end of the chronic and current crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. Greater efforts are needed even only to dismantle the remaining structure of fascist dictatorship. At the same time, the basic problems of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism still need to be confronted and done away with, in order to remove the basis for the reemergence of fascist dictatorship and free the people once and for all from oppression and exploitation.

There has been no social revolution yet. The ruling system persists. The ruling classes of big comprador and big landlords continue to ride roughshod over the people. The oppressive state remains. The Armed Forces of the Philippines as the main component of the reactionary state remains intact and completely carried over from the Marcos regime to the Aquino regime.

On the scale of one, two or three years, the Aquino regime is threatened by the comeback forces of the fallen regime and the rising ambitions of military groups. The new regime is faced with grave problems left by the Marcos regime and with the ever worsening crisis of the dying ruling system. The rising anti-imperialist and antifeudal demands of the people must be satisfied.

The national democratic revolution continues. The Filipino people continue to struggle for national sovereignty and democracy; land reform and national

industrialization; a scientific, national and mass culture; and an independent foreign policy.

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CRISIS OF THE SEMIFEUDAL ECONOMY

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U.S. monopoly capitalism has impacted on the Philippine economy to shape it into a semifeudal one, and put it firmly within the orbit of the world capitalist system. The commodity system has prevailed over the natural economy of self-sufficiency. But domestic feudalism has merely subordinated itself to an external industrial power.

The distinctiveness of the Philippine mode of production is due mainly to its deep-seated prior feudal character in the 19th century, the persistence of feudalism and the evolvement of semifeudal relations that mediate U.S. monopoly capitalism and domestic feudalism.

Let us describe first the current forces and relations of production that comprise the semifeudal mode of production in the Philippines. Then we can discuss the every worsening economic crisis due to foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism, and bureaucrat corruption.

The Productive Forces

The forces of production are mainly agrarian and nonindustrial. They are generally of low level of technology. They are backward or underdeveloped.

Agricultural land totaling 12 million hectares in 1980 is the principal means of production. It produces the food staples for domestic consumption; the overwhelming bulk of surplus products for export; and some amount of raw materials for processing locally.

There is negligible use of modern farm technology beyond peasant brawn, hand tools, plow and work animals on land devoted to rice, corn and coconut, all of which comprise 90.4% of total agricultural land. The promotion of costly imported farms inputs and equipment during the 70s affected only a few

hundred thousands of hectares. Estimates range from 500,000 to 800,000 hectares.

Even on land devoted to sugarcane, banana, pineapple and other new crops for export, which comprises no more than 7% of total agricultural land, and where there is relatively more impressive use of tractors and chemicals, reliance on sheer brawn and traditional peasant tools is still widespread. No more than 4% of total agricultural land is worked by tractors and other farm machinery.

Every piece of modern equipment in the agricultural, industrial and service sectors of the economy is imported. It is paid for with foreign exchange earned on raw material exports, mostly agricultural. Deficits incurred in foreign trade are covered by foreign loans and earning on the export of labor.

Even hand tools are imported to the extent of 85%. And of course, the remaining 15% are fabricated locally from imported metals. There are no well-established industries which produce from the available local raw material basic metals, basic chemicals, capital goods and the like.

What is passed off as the industrial sector consist of mining and quarrying, construction, utilities and light manufacturing which are all dependent on imported equipment, semi-processed materials, and raw materials, especially fuel.

And of course, the service sector which consists of transport, communications and storage, trading and banking and other services, including government, entertainment and the like, is dependent on imported equipment.

The People in Production

According to NEDA figures, there were nine million peasants and farms workers, accounting for 52% of employment; 2.5 million industrial workers, 14% and six million service workers, 34%, in 1979, which was a year of economic growth still bloated by excessive foreign borrowing.

These figures indicate, therefore, that peasants and farm workers comprise 78% of the direct producers of goods and industrial workers 22%. There are four peasants for every industrial worker.

Most peasants (poor and middle peasants) have the following means of supplementary livelihood: farm work for others, fishing, forestry and animal husbandry, handicrafts, construction or carpentry, hauling and petty peddling. Seasonal farm work is the most common sideline occupation, and is the main recourse for surplus labor in the countryside.

Only 74% of industrial workers are in manufacturing; and in turn 70% of workers in manufacturing are employed in small fabricating and repair shops, each employing less than ten workers and therefore hardly qualifying as truly manufacturing enterprises.

The figure for employment in the service sectors is bloated by decreases of employment in the agricultural and industrial sectors during the 70s. Agricultural employment went down from 59% in 1970 to 52% in 1979; and industrial employment from 17.6% in 1970 to 14% in 1979. The employment rate of the real producers of goods had decreased from year to year since 1979.

Only a minority of service workers - possible not more than 30% - are regular wage earners. In the main, these regular wage earners are employed by the government and by the multinational, big comprador and middle bourgeois firms. Most of the so-called service workers are actually unemployed or have no regular employment, or even underemployed, but are misrepresented by government statistics as fully employed.

Productive Relations

The Comprador big bourgeoisie is the dominant class in the relations of production. It determines the semifeudal character of the economy. As the chief trading and financial agent of US monopoly capitalism, it lords over the commodity system and decides the system of production and distribution.

The big compradors own the highest concentration of capital (merchant capital) involved in the unequal exchange of raw material exports and manufactured imports. They amass commercial profits through import-export operations and domestic wholesale; and interest through banks and quasi-banks.

In most or many cases, they are big landlords because their landed estates are their reliable sources of export crops. They also invest heavily in mining and other extractive enterprises; service enterprises other than banking and trading and import-dependent enterprises.

Upon the behest of U.S. monopoly capitalism and in accordance with their own class interest, the comprador big bourgeoisie opposes and prevents the comprehensive industrialization of the Philippines and shares with the landlord class the fear of land reform.

The landlord class remains a distinct class. It now runs second to the comprador big bourgeoisie as the exploiting class. It owns the largest tracts of land and amasses land rent from the tenants. It also engages in other forms

of exploitation such as the hiring of farm workers, usury, unfair trading of crops and farm inputs, renting out of farms equipment and animals at excessive rates, and so on.

The landlord class is far more widespread than the comprador big bourgeoisie based in the cities. At the first instance, it collects the largest amount of surplus product in the country, not only from the tenants and farm workers, but from all the peasant masses.

From this surplus product, the landlord class yield to the comprador big bourgeoisie payments for imported goods for high consumption, as well as for the productive needs of agriculture. The foreign monopolies extract their superprofit through the big comprador or direct subsidiaries.

The landlords own most of the best agricultural land and continue to accumulate land. They take away the surplus product not only from the greatest number of real producers, but also from the course of national industrialization.

The big bureaucrat capitalist are big compradors and big landlords who have stood out as such by using their public offices, privileges issued by the state, state banks and state enterprises to amass private capitals and land. In Philippine history, the most outstanding example of bureaucrat capitalism would be that of the fallen Marcos regime.

Using his autocratic power, Marcos was able to manipulate government firms and projects, foreign loans, export earnings, state funds and privileges to make his family and his cronies the wealthiest and most exploitative clique of big compradors and landlords, surpassing the long-established super-rich like the Roxases, Ayalas, Zobels and Sorianos. The problem now of the fallen Marcos clique is how to retain most of its assets in the face of the Commission on Good Government.

National entrepreneurs who are mainly in light manufacturing and own the means of production, belong to the middle bourgeoisie. They use local and imported components in varying degrees. They have a desire to push national industrialization forward and assume the prime position in the economy, but are pressed down by the foreign monopolies, the big compradors and the landlords.

The entrepreneurial middle bourgeoisie is directly engaged in the management of its productive enterprises. It engages in the exploitation of workers through the extraction of surplus value, and often gives wages that are lower than those given by foreign and big comprador firms. But these firms actually reap a higher rate of profit; and worse, they take out their

superprofits from the country or divert these from the course of national industrialization.

The urban petty bourgeoisie includes the professionals, technicians and the rest of the intelligentsia as well as the small entrepreneurs and traders. They comprise the largest stratum of the bourgeoisie, which is about 8% of the population. The most exploitative classes and the national bourgeoisie hire the professionals and technicians for their enterprises.

But the urban petty bourgeoisie in general undergoes increasing exploitation in time of ever worsening crisis, tends to side with the working class and peasantry, and influence the national bourgeoisie to oppose modern imperialism, domestic feudalism, and bureaucrat corruption.

The industrial proletariat is the most progressive force in the country today. It sells its labor power to the owners of capital. It suffers from low wages that are further eroded by the ever-soaring prices of prime commodities. Mass lay-offs and lack of new job opportunities are always threatening the workers in the current crisis.

The industrial proletariat comprises some 15% of the people. It is desirous of national industrialization so as to enlarge its number and strength, and thus is exceedingly eager to struggle against foreign and feudal domination.

The peasantry is the most numerous and exploited class in the semifeudal economy. It consist some 75% of the people. It suffers from feudal and semifeudal exactions, and struggle for land reform.

The peasantry is vehemently opposed to the rapid accumulation of land by Filipino landlords and foreign agri-corporations. The displacement of peasants from the land is rapidly increasing the ranks of farm workers and peasant revolutionaries.

Ever Worsening Economic Crisis

Being an appendage of U.S. monopoly capitalism, the Philippine agrarian semifeudal economy suffers from U.S. trade and investment policies, which are dictated to Philippine authorities directly by U.S. authorities, multinational firms and banks; and through multilateral agencies like the IMF and the World Bank.

The U.S. does not wish the Philippines to undertake national industrialization and genuine land reform, because it wants to perpetuate the unequal exchange of its surplus manufactures goods and cheap Philippine raw materials. It also wants to dump its surplus agricultural products on the Philippines.

The U.S. is pushing import liberalization hard because it wants to pursue a trade offensive to reduce its huge trade deficits. Import liberalization will certainly smash the small number of Filipino industries, which are dependent on imported equipment, semi-processed components, and raw materials, especially fuel.

The U.S. is always demanding the free flow of foreign direct investments into the country, and the most excessive privileges for these, including the most blatant violation of economic sovereignty, tax exemptions, accelerated depreciation allowances, unrestricted capital repatriation and profit remittances, and so on.

But in fact U.S. direct investments have moved into the country unevenly and into quick profit areas. A small amount of investments fetches huge amounts of superprofits. The U.S. has always sure that it controls strategic lines of business, but makes its investments in such a way that these do not result in the fundamental and comprehensive industrialization of the country and in a balanced economy.

The Philippine economy is now required to concentrate on agriculture after a period of being overloaded with foreign loans for infrastructure projects, agricultural and mining mills, five-star hotels and other grandiose tourism facilities, and other unproductive or remotely productive projects.

With agricultural exports as the mainstay for earning foreign exchange, the Philippine suffered an accumulated total trade deficit of \$16 billion from 1972 to 1983. There is not any number of agricultural products which can earn enough foreign exchange, even only to reduce the foreign trade deficits. The method being used lately to reduce foreign trade deficits is to reduce imports, including the most essential goods for local industries. Thus, the entire economy is depressed both by a failure to sell Philippine raw material exports in sufficient volume and at good price, and by the idling of Philippine industries.

The Philippine is overloaded with foreign loans that it can never really pay back from its agrarian economy. The accumulated foreign debt is now \$26 to \$30 billion. The Philippines will continue to sink deeper into the debt trap. Even only to keep up with debt service payments, now about \$3 billion a year, the Philippine will have to incur new foreign debts. The Philippine foreign debt crisis will be further aggravated by the reduction of foreign exchange earning from labor export.

U.S. monopoly capitalism is objectively and unwittingly killing the Philippine economic system. This phenomenon of murder emerged clearly when the U.S. pushed its pseudo-development and anti-industrialization

program through the Marcos fascist dictatorship which was supported by an avalanche of foreign loans, encourage to aggravated and deepen the agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy, and which was given all the leeway to undertake the most unbridled bureaucratic corruption and build up the coercive apparatuses of the state.

The political downfall of Marcos and his cronies does not necessarily solve the ever worsening economic crisis. A major portion of their assets in capital and land, which includes at least \$10 billion stashed away abroad, may be successfully confiscated by the state. But these will eventually fall into the hands of another faction of the same big comprador and landlord class.

What is obvious fact is that the economy has been bled white. And what is developing is a more violent struggle for economic and political power among factions of the exploiting classes. At least two factions, the Aquino and Marcos factions, are girding and maneuvering for a battle royale under conditions of an ever worsening socio-economic crisis.

The national bourgeoisie is agitated by the threat of being wiped out economically by import liberalization and other anti-national and anti-industrial policies, and tends to make stronger demands for protection.

The Urban petty bourgeoisie continues to suffer a worsening life of misery and want. It does not cease to swing towards the direction of revolutionary politics and conjoin with the toiling masses in a common struggle. The Intelligentsia is most revolted by the fact that its professional and technical skills are ill-remunerated or being wasted in a depressed semifeudal economy.

The working class is incensed by rampant unemployment, low wages and ceaseless inflation. This class is continuously turning the trade union into a school of revolution. Many of the disemployed workers have given up job-hunting and are turning in the direction of social revolution.

The continued thrust of the U.S. and reactionary economic policy to promote plantation is absurd in the face of a depressed world market for agricultural commodities, and yet if it succeeded it is bound to exacerbate the land problem and incite further peasant unrest and armed revolution in the countryside.

It is the rapid accumulation of land by old and new-style landlords, sweeping over old settlements and overtaking new settlements in the frontier areas, which has made fertile the ground for a peasant-based and proletarian-led armed revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country bereft of an industrialization program to absorb displaced peasants.

Every major policy and course of action being undertaken within the parameters of the semifeudal economy is coming to a dead end. The contradictions within the mode of production are leading to social revolution.

JOSE MARIA SISON
The Asian Center
University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City
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CRISIS OF THE NEOCOLONIAL STATE

Third in a Series of Lectures on PHILIPPINE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION
by Jose Ma. Sison
Delivered at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines

The U.S. shifted from direct to indirect colonial rule over the Philippines in 1946. This latter rule may be called semicolonial or neocolonial. Due to the ceaseless demand of the Filipino people for national independence, U.S. imperialism found it necessary to rule the country through such exploiting classes as the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class and their political representatives up to the national level of the state.

This state is the highest and largest political and social organization in the country. It encompasses the entire Philippine society - each and every Filipino citizen. It claims to carry and enforce the sovereign will of the Filipino people; transcend and mediate the differences and conflicts of individuals, groups and classes; and requires obedience from the people in the name of law and order within Philippine territory.

The illusion is fostered a priori that the state is above classes and for the national interest and general welfare. But in fact, it is the coercive instrument of exploiting classes against the exploited and, in the case of a semicolonial state, it is the instrument of an imperialist power.

The formal availability of civil liberties and the existence of suasive entities like a representatives assembly, competing political parties, mass organization, mass media and the like, tend to obscure the class character of the state.

But in time of crisis and revolution, the character of the state as an instrument of class coercion becomes conspicuous. The state comes out naked

as a set of coercive apparatuses like the army, the police, the courts and prisons in the service of U.S. imperialism and the local ruling classes.

Continuance of U.S. Domination

Before yielding nominal independence to the Philippines, the U.S. made sure as early as 1945 in an agreement with President Osmena and in the 1946 Treaty of General Relations that it would retain U.S. military bases in the Philippines in violation of the Tydings-McDuffie Law and the 1935 Constitution, which permitted only naval fuelling stations.

Then the U.S.-R.P Military Bases Agreement was extracted from the Philippine neocolonial state in 1947. This agreement was ratified by the Philippine Senate but never by the U.S. Senate. And it has remained as an executive agreement between the U.S. and Philippine presidents despite prolonged misrepresentation in the press as a treaty until a few years ago.

The U.S. military bases have continued to violate the national sovereignty and territorial of the Philippines; to exercise a coercive influence on every puppet regime in the country; to exact heavy social costs from the people; and to tie the country to the imperialist schemes of the U.S. in Asia; and to put the people under the threat of annihilation in case of a nuclear war.

The U.S. military bases are a constant reminder of the U.S. intervention and aggression starting in 1898, the humiliating and bloody conquest of the people, and several decades of direct U.S. colonial rule. These bases are the landmark of perpetuated U.S. aggression and domination.

The U.S. military bases are tied in with U.S. military assistance and the economic support fund to the Philippine government. Dependent on foreign exchange which is constantly being drained by trade payments, superprofit remittances and debt servicing, this government falls easily for a compensation package in connection with the U.S. military bases.

The U.S. has not only military bases of its own in the Philippines but also tight control of the main component of the Philippine neocolonial state, the Armed Forces of the Philippines. As Early as 1935, through Commonwealth Act No. 1, called the National Defense Act, the U.S. secured full control of the AFP in preparation for the conversion of the Philippine colony to a semicolony.

The U.S. controls the AFP because the latter is dependent on it for antipeople and anticommunist indoctrination, strategic planning, strategic intelligence, officer training and military supplies. The Joint U.S. Military Assistance Group exercises a far greater influence on the AFP officers than the top officialdom of the Philippine civil government does.

By their training and mentality, AFP officers are subservient to the U.S. But the U.S. always recruits from among them intelligence assets of the Central Intelligence Agency. Thus, the fascist dictator Marcos could not do anything to reverse his downfall, despite his carefully system of patronage within the AFP, when the U.S. finally decided to withdraw support from him.

The tradition of hewing to the U.S. line, which started with the first Filipino mercenaries used by the U.S. to attack the Filipino revolutionaries in the Filipino-American War, is well entrenched in the AFP. The U.S. has been responsible for building the AFP, from its original units to its current ones.

The AFP is the most dependable puppet organization of the U.S. in the Philippines and the most antagonistic to the national and democratic aspirations of the Filipino people. These aspirations are always misconstrued as "communism" by the AFP. And "democracy" is made to mean pro-imperialism, anticommunism and service to the exploiting classes.

Big Comprador-Landlord Dictatorship

Distinct from being a coercive instrument of U.S. imperialism, the Philippine neocolonial state is a joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. So long as this state conforms to the demands of the U.S., the exploiting classes use it to protect and promote their interest in the mode of production and superstructure of the semicolonial and semifeudal society.

So long as the exploited classes of workers and peasants do not raise demands which openly conflict with the interest of the exploiting classes, the neocolonial state appears as benign institution acting in the interest of the people.

But whenever the interest of the exploiting classes clash, even only in particular situation involving a workers' strike or peasant demonstration, the fact easily emerges that the coercive apparatuses of the state are in the service of the exploiting classes. Under conditions of a crisis of a general character, the coercive class character of the state becomes far more conspicuous.

In coordination with or after failure of suasive means to deceive and calm down the aggrieved toiling masses, the exploiting classes can escalate the show and use of brute force from the level of private arms and civilian armed gangs through the local police to any of the major services of the Armed Forces of the Philippines: first the constabulary and then the Army and other additional forces, like the navy and air force.

Because of built-in U.S. control of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and conformity to U.S. interest, the exploiting classes through their political representatives makes sure that the Armed Forces of the Philippines is their instrument by adopting their own policies and ensuring that appointments and promotions of officers are consonant with such policies.

There is, however, no indivisible unity among the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords. There are bitter struggle for political supremacy and control of the state between factions of the same reactionary classes.

Under relatively normal conditions, the contending factions of the ruling classes of big comprador-landlord politicians have peaceably competed for political power through a two-party system. The Nacionalista and Liberal parties were the two dominant parties up to 1972.

Under conditions of a much-worsened economic crisis, the political crisis of the ruling system also worsens to the point of armed conflict among factions of the ruling classes. The lessening of economic loot for the factions intensifies their political struggle.

The economic crisis results in widespread social unrest and in the rise of an armed revolutionary movement. The pressures of the armed revolution tend to crack up the neocolonial state and encourage the factions of the ruling classes struggles against each other.

The first grave test for the neocolonial state came in 1949 when amidst the serious economic crisis due to the depletion of foreign exchange, the Quirino and Laurel factions of the ruling Liberal Party and opposition Nacionalista Party intensified their political struggle almost to the point of a civil war.

At the same time, the revolutionary movement of the toiling masse led by the Communist Party of the Philippines was already waging armed struggle against the neocolonial state. Soon after the 1949 elections, characterized by fraud and terrorism, which kept Quirino in the presidency, the Laurel faction was so enraged that it agreed to ally itself in armed struggle with the people's army. This faction, however, subsequently backed out.

To shore up the ruling system, the U.S. deliberately strengthened the armed forces to fight the revolutionary forces, and built up the political image of Magsaysay to override the Quirino and Laurel factions. The newly beef-up Armed Forces of the Philippines, with 36 new battalions, was directed by U.S. agents to give support to Magsaysay in his drive for the presidency in 1953, even as he transferred from the Liberal Party to the Nacionalista Party.

It was not the gimmickry Of Magsaysay and his C.I.A. adviser Col. Lansdale that beat the armed revolutionary movement; it was mainly the self-

defeating errors in ideology, politics, organization and military strategy of the Lavaite leadership of the revolutionary movement - errors which were taken advantage of by the newly beef-up Armed Forces of the Philippines.

Further Crisis of the Neocolonial State

After the backbone of the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan was broken from 1950 to 1952, the neocolonial state was able to revitalize and refurbish itself through a program of controlling imports and foreign exchange and favoring foreign-owned enterprises; and through a program of rapidly expanding the public school system.

The revolutionary movement could have preserved its strength and persevered in struggle. But the Lavaite leadership adopted one policy after another, leading to the almost complete annihilation of the Communist Party of the Philippines, and the revolutionary movement throughout the 50s. By 1960, the remnants of the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan were no longer in any fruitful contact with the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The establishment of Filipino-owned industries encouraged a wave of economic nationalism and there was increasing demand for comprehensive industrialization. The U.S. decided to hit back by demanding full decontrol and also tried to extract a foreign investments law from then President Macapagal, to perpetuate parity rights under the new euphemism of "National treatment" in anticipation of the 1974 termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

The moves of the U.S. to counter the anti-imperialist trend in politics and the economy and the deleterious effects of full decontrol generated a much stronger anti-imperialist mass movement in the 60s. This movement included the workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

Both the working class and the national bourgeoisie were agitated by the negative impact of full decontrol on local industries. The peasantry began to stir because of their increasing misery and demanded land reform, especially because the land frontier had been exhausted for spontaneous resettlement by the landless tillers towards the end of the 60s.

The abrupt constriction of job opportunist for educated youth turned into a major problem for the ruling system in the early 60s. The educational system continued to produce more and more professional and technicians with no assurance of employment.

Throughout the 60s organizations and alliance of the working class, peasantry, youth, teachers, other professional and businessmen arose and

grew in strength. They sought to arouse, organize and mobilize the people along the line of the national democratic revolution. The militant actions of the mass movement were often physically attacked by the forces of the state.

On December 26, 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism, adopted the general line of the people's democratic revolution, and declared armed struggle and the united front as its two main weapons. On March 29, 1969, the New People's Army was established under the CPP leadership to carry out armed struggle, agrarian reforms, and mass base-building in the countryside.

The CPP declared that the crisis of the ruling system was already so grave, that the ruling class could no longer rule in the old way, that the people were desirous of a revolutionary change of government and that the revolutionary party of the proletariat was being established in order to lead the people.

In the 1969 presidential elections, Marcos expended huge amounts of funds and perpetrated fraud and terrorism to get himself reelected. When he made his state-of-the-nation address before the Philippine Congress on January 25, 1970, a huge crowd of youth and workers and other urban poor massed in front of Congress to condemn his antinational and anti-democratic policies and his sham reelection.

The demonstration was physically attacked and dispersed by the police and the military. The demonstrators fought back. Thus started the First Quarter Storm of 1970. Malacañang was besieged by protestors on January 30, 1970, and the military minions again attacked them, killing six students in the process. More demonstrations and marches followed. The forces of the state assaulted the demonstrators and marchers whenever they approached the US Embassy and Malacañang Palace.

The economic and financial crisis was admitted by the US-Marcos ruling clique as it undertook the devaluation of the peso and adopted the floating rate system in February 1970. The political crisis was dramatized by the ever-growing militant mass actions from 1970 to 1972; the armed struggle initiated by the CPP and NPA in Tarlac; anti-imperialist decisions of the Supreme Court on the Quasha and Luzteveco cases; and the articulate anti-imperialist voices in the Philippine Congress and Constitutional Convention.

The Constitutional Convention was offered by the regime as a way of allaying the violent contradictions in society. But in fact Marcos had intended to bribe and capture it; and use it for legitimizing a fascist dictatorship and prolonging his rule.

It is relevant to recall that when he assumed the presidency in 1966, Marcos appointed himself as secretary of national defense, and started to

have a tight hold on the Armed Forces of the Philippines by favoring, promoting and putting in command his relatives, friends and conferees from his region. When he yielded the position of secretary of national defense to someone from his region, a system of personal loyalty to him ran through the entire Armed Forces of the Philippines.

In August 1971, he masterminded the bombing of Plaza Miranda, which almost wiped out the entire national leadership of the opposition Liberal Party. He blamed this on the CPP and NPA, and proclaimed the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.

He would restore the writ of habeas corpus in January 1972, due to overwhelming public pressure and the landslide victory of the Liberal Party in the local and senatorial elections. But he had his dress rehearsal for the declaration of martial law, and the establishment of a full-blown fascist dictatorship under the banner of anti-Communism.

The Marcos Fascist Dictatorship

The autocratic ambitions of Marcos and the rapacity of his bureaucrat capitalist clique coincided with the U.S. scheme of hardening the Philippine neocolonial state against U.S. defeat in its war of aggression in Indochina, and with the worsening of the political and economic crisis of the ruling system.

The full emergence of the fascist dictatorship regime of the US-Marcos clique through the declaration of martial law and the coup against the neocolonial republic on September 21, 1972 manifest beyond doubt that the semicolonial and semifeudal system was dying and that the ruling classes of big compradors and landlord could no longer rule in the old way.

The bourgeois-democratic trappings of the joint class dictatorship of the big compradors and landlords were scrapped. An open rule of terror by a fascist autocracy was sprung on the people by the ruling big comprador-landlord clique.

Supreme executive, legislative and judicial authority was grabbed by Marcos. He interpreted the commander-in-chief provision in the 1935 Constitution as a license for limitless authority and autocratic lawmaking. He placed all elected local officials at his mercy, padlocked Congress, assumed all judicial authority over cases involving national security and public safety, dictated on the constitutional convention, dissolved all the legal political parties, took over the mass media, and did so many other things in order to monopolize political power.

He effected the mass arrest of all his opponents and critics in Congress, the constitutional convention, political parties, mass organizations, mass media, university, and so on. He expanded and intensified bloody campaign of suppression against the Moro peoples and other Filipinos in the countryside.

To lay the basics for his power grab, Marcos had continued disrupting the legal democratic mass actions of the people, and had engineered a series of petty bombing incidents. He blamed the Communist and make them the pretext for declaring martial law.

The most important instrument of the fascist dictatorship was, of course, the Armed Forces of the Philippines. It was rapidly beef-up and was given the lion's share in government expenditures. The police was integrated with the Philippine Constabulary, and paramilitary forces were organized at top speed all over the country.

Marcos was able to tighten his control over the Armed Forces of the Philippines by expanding the Presidential Security Command and the National Intelligence and Security Authority under his top hatchetman Gen. Fabian C. Ver, and by putting his close elations, friends and provincemates or regionmates in command of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The U.S. encouraged Marcos to beef up, control and use the AFP for so long as he served the interest of US imperialism. He rationalized US domination by using the Red scare. He assured the US of perpetual and unhampered use of US military bases. He gave in to every demand of the U.S. multinational firms and banks and the US-controlled multilateral agencies like the IMF and the World Bank.

In exchange, the US increased bilateral military and economic assistance and allowed the fascist regime to draw colossal amount of foreign loans. These foreign loans were directly for pseudo-development projects like infrastructure, tourism facilities and others, but were also indirectly for allowing the release of more peso funds in the government budget for the rapid military buildup.

As if to provide a solution to the armed revolution and to defeat the people's army in the countryside, Marcos pretended too have a land reform program as the cornerstone of a new society. But in fact this less tillers, but rather to his close relatives, business cronies, political associates, military officers, and to foreign agricorporations. There was a massive land dispossession of peasants, national minorities, and even landlords who were his political opponents.

The direct social base of fascism is bureaucrat capitalism. The Marcos drive for absolute power vis-a-vis the Filipino people had always been

motivated by the desire to acquire private assets in capital and land through the use of political power. And when his autocracy reigned, his pillage and plunder of the country knew no bounds.

Even as he did away with bourgeois-democratic rights, institutions and processes under the 1935 Constitution, Marcos held such rigged voting exercises as citizens' assemblies, referenda, plebiscites and elections. In each exercise, he sought to further entrench himself in power. legitimize his fascist regime, and deceive the people.

The undoing of the Marcos fascist dictatorship was due to the increasing deterioration of the economy, characterized by the aggravation of its agrarian and semifeudal character, depression of raw material exports, excessive foreign borrowing and unbridled bureaucratic corruption; the advance and growth in strength of the armed revolutionary movement and the broad legal democratic mass movement; the outrageous perpetration of countless military atrocities and abuses, including the assassination of Benigno Aquino, which revolted the people and most of the reactionaries; and finally the junking done by the U.S. and Catholic Church, the split in the ranks of the AFP, the dramatic breakaway of Enrile and Ramos, and the people's uprising from February 22 to 25, 1986.

The costs of the US-inspired fascist dictatorship to the Filipino people are extremely high. More than six million were displaced from their homes and land. Some 150,000 people killed, and another 100,000 were injured in the course of AFP military operations. Many were subjected to torture and summary execution. At least 70,000 were arbitrarily detained for at least one month. Hundreds of thousands were subjected to the humiliation of taking an oath of allegiance to the regime and being misrepresented as NPA and MNLF surrenderees.

And the costs to the ruling system are extremely high. The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has become deeper, more difficult to relieve, and more fatal. The contradictions among the reactionaries are bound to become more violent and disintegrative of the system. The revolutionary movement has grown in strength and continues to advance. There is no way out of the deterioration of the agrarian and semifeudal economy and the foreign debt trap except through social revolution.

The Post-Marcos Situation

There is the illusion among the reactionaries that the ascendance of the Aquino regime has preempted the rise of the revolutionary movement.

What is being obscured is the fact that the Aquino regime has assumed the urden of responsibility in coping with the grave problems left by Marcos, and

with the ever-worsening political and economic crisis of the ruling system due to foreign and feudal domination.

Even the task of dismantling the structure of fascist dictatorship and reestablishing formal democratic fight is not yet over.

Moreover, the Marcos forces are not yet completely out of contention for power. These are far stronger than those who are now in power were in the past. These have large assets inside and outside of the country, armed followers inside and outside of the AFP, and political agents and followers at every level.

In a relatively short time, upon the failure of the Aquino regime to solve the problems besetting the country, the Marcos forces are bound to expand and intensify their opposition to the Aquino regime. The conflict between the Marcos and Aquino forces is now more two-sided than when Marcos used to monopolize political power and one-sidedly inflicted violence on his political rivals and the revolutionary forces.

A battle royale is in the offing between the Aquino and Marcos forces. This promises to be more violent and more disintegrative of the ruling system, and this provides conditions for the accelerated advance of the revolutionary movement.

We assume that Aquino as president can build her own bloc within the AFP, and put it on top of the Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc and the Marcos bloc.

The Marcos forces can utilize to their own advantage their own bloc within the AFP for maneuvering against the Aquino bloc and the Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc, and playing off one bloc against the other. The three bloc are in for a dangerous game under conditions of an ever-worsening economic crisis.

Insofar as it remains the parameters of foreign and feudal domination, the Aquino regime is incapable of solving the economic crisis. The nonsolution of this crisis, the growing challenge of the Marcos forces, and the resistance of the Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc to the rise of the Aquino bloc within the AFP, are likely to destabilize the Aquino regime.

The people's power that has been able to topple Marcos and install Aquino as president is of an antifascist quality. To be able to keep itself in power, the Aquino regime has to follow the development of a people's power that is comprehensively anti-imperialist, antifeudal, and antifascist, and link up with people's power which is in constant development whether Aquino regime likes it or not.

Despite the fluctuation from an unabashed fascist tyranny to a revolutionary regime with a liberal-democratic tendency, the ruling system continues to be in the process of decline and disintegration, and the revolutionary movement continues to build and develop the people's democratic power.

JOSE MA. SISON
22 April 1986
University of the Philippines

CRISIS OF PHILIPPINE CULTURE (1946 to the Present)

Fourth in a Series of Lectures on PHILIPPINE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION
by Jose Ma. Sison
Delivered at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines

Culture is the reflection of the economy and politics. The dominant forces and the newly emerging forces in the economy and politics are also those in culture. These contradictory forces and their essential contradictions take ideological forms and involve definite apparatuses in the sphere of culture.

Culture encompasses the modes of existence and trends of thought in philosophy, politics, economics, the natural and social sciences, art and literature, jurisprudence and morality. The apparatuses of culture include institutions, various type of organizations, and personnel that concentrate or specialize in cultural work.

However, culture is not simply the ideological reflection of current forces and contradictions in the economy and politics. It is also the accumulation of notions, customs, habits and the like which date as far back as prehistory, and which persist in current circumstances for so long as there are carriers and they are part of the social psychology of the people.

The main concern of this discussion is to present the crisis of Philippine culture in relation to the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal society. We focus on the dominant cultural forces as they seek not only to reflect but also to react to politico-economic realities and trends, and in the process contradict newly emerging cultural forces and play their reactionary role in the crisis of Philippine culture and society.

Let us focus on the dominant forces as they play their antinational, antiscientific and antipeople roles as against the newly emerging forces of a national, scientific, and mass culture.

The Dominant Cultural Forces

The two dominant cultural forces in the Philippines are U.S. imperialism and the Roman Catholic Church. The first is the more dominant force. In the semicolonial and semifeudal culture of the Philippines, these forces purvey the dominant ideas and control the dominant cultural apparatuses.

In defeating the old democratic revolution and imposing its power on the Filipino people, the U.S. employed not only its superior military prowess and its readiness to promote the rise of resident or Filipino comprador big bourgeoisie, but also the ideology of a pro-imperialist liberal democracy to coopt the revolutionary nationalism and progressive liberal democracy of the old democratic revolution.

The U.S. built and expanded the public educational system and established the University of the Philippines in order to purvey the propaganda of modern imperialism (couched in the terms of conservative liberal democracy) and produce literate workers and more native professionals and technicians than the colonial and feudal system could accommodate.

To produce the cream of U.S.-educated Filipinos, the U.S. undertook the pensionado system in the U.S. colonial period. In the semicolonial period, the U.S. has instituted scholarship grants under official agencies and private American foundations to produce a new crop of pro-U.S. academicians, government technocrats, and private managers. It has systematically provided training for Filipino military officers in U.S. forts.

At every level of the Philippine educational system, pro-imperialist concepts and methods hold away through U.S.-trained educators and U.S.-oriented programs of study and study materials. These makes up the latest colonial mentality of the educated Filipino who came mostly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and exceptionally from the toiling masses; and who pursue careers as high bureaucrat, professional in private practice, business executives and military officers.

The mass media comprise one more cultural field dominated by U.S. imperialism and its cultural agents. The print and electronic media have grown as vehicles of pro-imperialist and reactionary propaganda and advertisers of U.S. products and shapers of Filipino consumer taste. U.S.-made movies and TV programs and U.S.-oriented radio programs are the most effective purveyors of pro-imperialist concepts and style, including the most vulgar and decadent notions.

The Catholic Church adjusted itself to U.S. domination as soon as this started at the beginning of the century. The Church had big comprador agencies during the Spanish colonial period, and could sell its friar estates to expand its big comprador interests in banking and new commercial firms.

Since then, the Church has maintained its essentially feudal ideology together with the ascendant ideology of modern imperialism, and reluctantly accepted the principle of separation of church and state. The superimposition of modern imperialist ideology on feudal ideology has reflected the semifeudal economy and politics.

As an institution, the church has been a strong ideological defender and sanctifier of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class. Its cultural influence is widespread among the people through catechetical work, rituals, sermons, prayer campaign, publications and christianized native customs, or what is called folk christianity.

The pontifical University of Sto. Tomas is no longer as prestigious as it used to be when it was at the apex of the educational system in the Spanish colonial period. But the church has developed its own extensive educational system. It accounts for most of the private schools at every level, rivals the public educational system at the primary and elementary levels, and surpasses it at the secondary and tertiary levels.

The best Catholic schools are well known as schools for the children of the exploiting classes. And even if the social encyclicals of the Pope denounce both capitalism and liberalism on the one hand, and socialism and Marxism on the other, in order to uphold the spiritual mission of the church and feudal values as being transcendent over social classes, the Catholic universities and colleges are in fact efficient propagators of bourgeois economic theories, methods of business management, and the most rabid anticommunist, antipeople and counter-revolutionary ideas.

The Catholic traditional facilities, schools, mass media and other modern facilities augment the major nonsectarian facilities in spreading pro-imperialist and reactionary ideas and in producing men and women with mixed-up values of feudal idealism and bourgeois subjectivism.

The Antinational Role

In laying the foundation of semicolonialism through unequal economic and military agreements in the latter half of the 40s, the U.S. used the cold war to equate anti-imperialism with communism as malapropism and cussword. Cleverly the U.S. and its Filipino cultural agents counterposed the abstract

liberal concept of individual rights against the concept of national sovereignty and against that of the Philippines as an independent nation-state.

U.S. imperialism has been playing the most forceful role in opposing the national sovereignty and independence of the Filipino people. For Filipino patriots to stand for national sovereignty and independence is to meet the indifference or disdain of the U.S.-lining intellectuals and incur the loss of opportunities within the cultural and educational system, if not gain the dreaded classification of "subversive."

An effective subaltern of U.S. imperialism is fostering colonial mentality and discrediting the anti-imperialist movement as a communist ploy is the institutional Catholic Church. It has played the special role of counterposing religious sentiments against the anti-imperialist movement in the same manner that it did during the Spanish colonial period against the anticolonialist movement.

In the 50s, the Church vociferously opposed in quick succession the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement, the propagation of such national liberal treasures as the Noli and Fili, the Recto nationalist crusade, the progressive liberal works in the University of the Philippines, and President Garcia's "Filipino First" policy. As intellectual commandos of the Church, American Jesuits and their Filipino disciples stood out in seeking to suppress anti-imperialist and anticolonialist ideas and in pushing the anti-subversion Law.

In the 60s, however, the anti-imperialist initiative of proletarian revolutionaries and their united front with progressive liberals moved to counterattack the pro-imperialist and cold warrior, and won great victories for the anti-imperialist movement in the political and cultural fields. A new democratic culture with a strong content of anti-imperialism sprang up despite continued U.S. cultural aggression through American foundations. Marxism-Leninism took the lead in the great intellectual and cultural movement.

Filipino intellectuals became increasingly proud of their own national language and used it in defiance of the longstanding supremacy of English in classrooms, official communications and high literature. Pride in the revolutionary tradition and folk achievements in the national cultural heritage was also strong.

In 1970-72, a new democratic cultural revolution burst out and flowered. Large numbers of the educated began to question, criticize and reject the imperialist features of American culture and education. They were agitated by the crisis of the ruling system and inspired by the growing mass movement. Special mention should be made of the First Quarter Storm of 1970. The educated were disgusted with the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, and

were encouraged by the example of an increasing number of American intellectuals rejecting the reality and ideological presumption of U.S. imperialism.

The imposition of the fascist dictatorship in 1972 was the desperate answer of the U.S. and local reactionary to the rising anti-imperialist movement. Like all other revolutionary forces, the forces of the cultural revolution continued to grow in the urban underground and guerrilla zones.

The fascist dictatorship carried out the U.S.-dictated PCSPE (Presidential Committee to Study Philippine Education) recommendations to "streamline the Philippine educational system for the supposed purpose of turning out more technically skilled graduates for the foreign multinational firms. But jobs were never significantly increased by the foreign monopolies in the increasingly depressed economy.

The fascist regime also carried out the U.S.-dictated policy to produce more textbooks funded by World Bank loans. The textbooks became vehicles of pro-imperialist and fascist propaganda to augment the daily propaganda churned out by the controlled mass media.

Public education was starved of government funds. And the teachers were deprived of decent pay as the students also suffered higher costs of living and study.

Leaders of the Catholic Church endorsed or condoned the fascist dictatorship of the U.S.-Marcos clique because it presented itself as an anticommunist force. But in most of the 70s and onward, progressive religious leaders and church people rose in increasing numbers to side with the people in defense of their human rights in face of outrageous atrocities and abuses by U.S.-instigated fascists, as well as in defense of their national rights in face of imperialist plunder through multinational firms and banks, and the violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity through the U.S. military bases.

The defection of the educated from the antinational cultural control and influence of U.S. imperialism as well as the increase of religious progressives who take a patriotic stand within the Catholic Church are a manifestation of the crisis of a cultural system which is pro-imperialist and reactionary.

Serious breaches in the dominant cultural forces are bound to widen and be taken advantage of by the forces of the new democratic cultural revolution.

The Antiscientific Role

It is easy to be impressed with the scientific and technological advances of the U.S., and to fall into thinking that the U.S. can help in the scientific and technological progress of the Philippines.

However, if we consider that the U.S. opposes national industrialization of the Philippines, and wants our country to remain agrarian and to hope for nothing more than some labor-intensive enterprises, then the U.S. cannot be expected to be the wellspring of scientific and technological progress for the country while it remain semicolonial and semifeudal in character.

The Philippine educational system is deliberately bereft of any program to promote studies in the basic social science. However, it produces a considerable number of engineers and technologists whose number is quite excessive relative to the job opportunities in the pre-industrial economy. So they take on jobs as sales people of the multinational firms. And those who cannot get jobs locally, emigrate.

The relative excess of engineers and technologists was the result of a rapidly expanding educational system in the 50s and 60s and a slowly expanding educational system falling behind the increase of children and youth of school age in most of the 70s. The general deterioration of the educational system that has become obvious in the 80s will produce less engineers and technologists even for emigration.

There has also been a lessening of demand from the U.S. and elsewhere abroad for health professionals, engineers and technologists and skilled workers.

While some people like to flatter themselves that the export of professional and skilled labor is a manifestation of the progressive status of the Philippines, it is actually a manifestation of stagnance and crisis - the inability of the national economy to absorb that which has to be exported at a cheap price despite the high costs of education that Philippine society has to shoulder.

There is also one phenomenon that is being missed. While some professional choose to seek jobs abroad, others join the revolutionary movement. This is one phenomenon that manifests a grave crisis in the system. As matter of fact, an increasing number of students and college graduates are predisposed to join the revolutionary movement. The entire urban petty bourgeoisie is swinging to the side of the toiling masses in a common struggle against oppression and exploitation.

Philosophy, the social sciences, arts and letter, law, education, economic and business courses are fields of explicit and extended theorizing and

propagandizing by the cultural and educational agents of U.S. imperialism and the Catholic Church.

The overwhelming majority of college students and graduates are in these fields. In less critical times, they are the carriers of the most scientific, obscurantist, pro-imperialist and reactionary ideas. But in more critical times, they are assailed by basic ills of society with their formal education cannot explain, and they are drawn to the scientific theory and practical struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad national democratic movement.

Some can reject both the bourgeois subjectivism of imperialist ideology and the medieval metaphysics of the most numerous church and find their way clear to proletarian revolutionary theory and practice. Others learn to keep whatever is scientific and useful in their formal education and even their religious convictions, and at the same time understand and accept the general programs of the new democratic revolution.

The conspicuous swing of college students and graduates to the national democratic movement is a manifestation of the crisis of Philippine culture and society. They are calling for relevant education and the radical transformation of society.

The Antipeople Role

U.S. imperialism and the Catholic Church have produced together a semicolonial and semifeudal culture that suits the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class as ruling classes.

This culture serves to rationalize, sanctify, legitimize and prettify the system of oppression and exploitation. It seeks to disarm and lull the oppressed and exploited people mentally, emotionally and morally, and make them accept their conditions.

At the highest level of the cultural system, the ruling classes reign supreme as the policymakers, owners and controllers of the main cultural institutions, the educational system, the mass media and all other major means of influencing the thinking, feeling and morality of the people.

The intelligentsia is the recruiting ground for the most efficient cultural personnel of the ruling classes. But the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia cannot climb the social ladder from the level of the salaried to that of the ruling classes. In times of crisis, the intelligentsia tends to link up with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and increasingly criticizes and denounces the system of oppression and exploitation.

The semicolonial and semifeudal culture does not assert in explicit and subtle ways the prerogative of the both compradors and landlords, but also deprives millions of children to the level of Grade IV, a level which does not guarantee literacy. It further churns out a vulgar and degrading cultural fare to distract the toiling masses of workers and peasants from their own class interest and the class struggle.

But the crisis of the economic system breaks out into a crisis of the political system. The social unrest and the inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old ways result in the most bitter economic and political struggles within the ruling class struggle extends to the cultural field.

In seeking to win political power, the most advanced productive and political force - the working class - is represented by its party which has a theory and a practical program which encompasses not only economic and political objectives but also a cultural objectives - the new democratic culture - to arouse and muster the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry as the main force, and to win over the middle social strata in a national united front.

This new democratic culture serves the people and combats the antipeople culture of the semicolonial and semifeudal society.

JOSE MA. SISON

University of the Philippines

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CRISIS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Fifth in a Series of Lectures on PHILIPPINE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION

by Jose Ma. Sison

Delivered at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines

Philippine foreign policy is a captive of U.S. foreign policy. It reflects the semicolonial or neocolonial status and domestic policy of the Philippines.

US-RP relations are the most important of Philippine international relations. However, let us first discuss the foundation of these relations and point to the unequal and conflicting interest of a client-state and the master state. These spell the chronic and current crisis of Philippine foreign policy.

Then we can also see the crisis of this policy in relation to other capitalist countries, the newly liberated countries, the national liberation movements and the socialist countries.

Foundation of U.S.-R.P. Relations

The foundation of US-RP relations is defined by a series of unequal treaties, agreements and laws. These have been called special relations, so special that they spell US control of both the domestic and foreign policies of the Philippines.

On the day that the US granted bogus independence to the Philippines in 1946, the US-RP treaty of General Relations was signed by the president of the semicolonial republic. This treaty recognized the perpetuation of US property rights and the US military bases and required the formulation of Philippine foreign policy under the wings of US foreign policy.

The U.S. Bell Trade Act of 1947 extended the period of free trade, spelled out the subordination of the Philippine peso to the US dollar and required the Parity Amendment in the Philippine constitution. The Parity Amendment allowed US investor up to 100% equity in corporations exploiting natural resources and operating public utilities.

The Laurel-Langley Agreement of 1954 did not only reaffirm the Parity Amendment, but also unconstitutionally extended its coverage to all kinds of businesses, including the holding and utilization of private agricultural lands. The revised tariff schedule and the quota system still encouraged the exportation of raw material and the importation of finished products from the United States. The agreement formally relinquished control over the Philippine monetary system, but in fact the economy had become dependent on the US dollar through trade with the US, US investment, and loans.

The US-RP Military Bases Agreement of 1947 puts in detail US violation of Philippine sovereignty and territorial through US military bases sitting on extensive tracts of land. The agreement practically allows US military forces to control the entire country by exempting them from Philippine jurisdiction even outside of the bases, and by allowing them to be expanded or increased upon the decision of the US.

The US-RP Military Assistance Pact of 1947 ensures US control over the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Through the Joint US Military Advisory Group (JUSMAG), the US extends strategic and staff direction, logistics, training and intelligence coordination to the AFP. US military advisory have been participating in the military operations of the AFP.

The Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement of 1951 allows the US to plant US economic and technical advisers in every strategic branch of the Philippine government. These advisers direct and influence policies, conduct imperialist propaganda, gather economic and political intelligence, and see to it the "aid" results in quick profits for US firms on foreign loans, grants and peso counterpart funds through purchases of US commodities and excessive payments for US contractors and experts.

Agents of US-AID (and its predecessor agencies) have not only been economic and technical agents of US monopolies, but have also doubled as cultural aggressors, CIA agents and advisors and trainers of the Philippine Constabulary and local police agencies in crowd dispersal and counterinsurgency.

The US-RP Mutual Defense Pact of 1951 allows the US to use aggressor troops to intervene in the internal affairs of the Philippines under the pretext of securing "peace" and "mutual security." It is practically an extension of the US-RP Military Bases Agreement.

The Manila Pact of 1954 created the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) for the "regional defense of Southeast Asia." It could be invoked to involve the Philippines in US adventures in other countries in the region, and also to involve SEATO member-countries, mostly non-Southeast Asian countries, in Philippine affairs. But the SEATO was paralyzed by contradictions between the US and other member-countries.

The agricultural commodities agreements are governed by US Public Law 480, otherwise known as the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. Through these agreements, the US disposes of its surplus agricultural products by dumping them on the Philippines. These are used to keep certain "intermediate" industries (flour, textile, cigarettes, animal feeds and the like) under control. These are used to manipulate local agricultural production. The proceeds from the sale of US agricultural products are used to support propaganda campaign and educational exchange programs.

US governmental agencies like the AID, USIS, the Educational Board, and the Peace Corps, and foundation like the Asia Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and Ford Foundation play an important role in the Philippine cultural and educational system. Exchange programmes for various sectors and travel, study and research grants are used to glorify the "American way of life" and propagate antinational and antidemocratic ideas.

The Crisis of US-RP Relations

In the entire semicolonial period, US-RP relations have always been in crisis and fallen deeper in crisis from decade to decade. This crisis in US-RP

relations as well as in the entire range of Philippine external relations springs from contradictions in a US-dominated Philippine society.

The US was able to impose unequal treaties and agreements as the foundation of its continued domination of Philippine and foreign policy because the US presented itself as the liberator of the country from Japanese occupation and the giver of Philippine independence, took advantage of the devastation of the country and the hardship of the people, and unleashed the rabid anticommunist propaganda of the Cold War.

But the revolutionary forces that had grown out of the crisis of the world capitalist system and World War II eventually waged an armed struggle against the harsh policies and campaign of the US and the local reactionaries to suppress them. The counterrevolutionary policies and campaign emerged from the rapidly deteriorating socioeconomic conditions.

The defeat of the armed revolution and the foreign exchange and import controls paved the way for the further rehabilitation and recovery of agriculture and mining and the build-up of industries dependent on imported equipment, spare parts, fuel and raw materials during the 50s.

The US was able to use Philippine expeditionary troops in the Korea war in the early 50s and use Philippine foreign policy and Filipino agents in counterrevolutionary activities in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia and Indochina, during the 50s and 60s.

At the Afro-Asian people's conference in Bandung in 1956, the delegation of the Philippine government headed by Carlos P. Romulo stood as an apologist of US foreign policy rather than as defender of Philippine sovereign interest and a supporter of the newly liberated countries and national liberation movements in Asia and Africa.

From the latter half of the 40s to the entire 60s, the US-directed Cold War raged in the Philippines and pushed foreign policy to take the same antagonistic position of the US towards the socialist countries and the anti-imperialist countries and movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

But in the 60s, the national democratic movement in the Philippines was resurgent, and strongly opposed US armed intervention and aggression in Vietnam. The use of Philippine mercenary troops in Vietnam always faced strong opposition from the people and in the Philippine Congress and the press. These troops had to be dispatched under the signboard of civic action and then as medical group rather than as a military contingent.

Another strong demand of the national democratic movement was the broadening of Philippine foreign relations and the establishment of diplomatic

and trade relation with socialist countries in view of the worsening economic and foreign trade crisis, especially in the late 60s.

Throughout the 50s, the Western European capitalist countries and Japan, devastated during World War II, had successfully rebuilt their industrial economies. In the 60s, the US had to accommodate these other capitalist countries in the Philippines and elsewhere.

The constriction of the world market for the industrial products of the capitalist countries first as a result of the several socialist countries in the aftermath of World War II, and then as a result of the reconstruction of the devastated capitalist economies, meant the cheapening of raw materials and the price of labor in the colonies and semicolonies, including the Philippines.

The International Monetary Fund took a more prominent role than the Import-Export Bank in promoting the free flow of foreign exchange and foreign investment; and attending to the foreign exchange crisis of the Philippines through stabilization loans for covering balance of payments deficits. The World Bank also became prominent in pushing economic policies in favor of infrastructure projects, the expansion of agriculture and mining mills and all other projects that would draw away funds from genuine industrial development.

The Asian Development Bank was established. The proportioning of shares in the bank indicated accommodation by the US to Japan and other Western European countries. The ADB augmented the effort of the World Bank in promoting infrastructure and agricultural projects.

In the latter half of the 60s, the US was able to enlarge its special economic privileges in the Philippines through the Foreign Investment Law, the Export Processing Law, and other laws. These laws were made in anticipation of the termination of the Laurel-Langlely Agreement and the Parity Amendment. The term "national treatment" was coined to preserve parity rights for the US multinational firms.

Also in the late 60s, the US pushed the formation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a bloc of regional economic cooperation and free trade and as a political bulwark against the impending revolutionary victories of the Indochinese peoples. But the ASEAN would also advocate a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in Southeast Asia.

In 1970, anticipating its withdrawal from or defeat in Indochina, and recognizing the worsening economic and financial crisis world capitalist system, the US decided to explore the opening of diplomatic and trade relations with the People's Republic of China.

In 1970 onwards, the economic and financial crisis in the Philippines had worsened due to huge deficits in foreign trade and balance of payments. These deficits could be covered only by large doses of foreign loans. The export crops and mining facilities had been overexpanded in the Philippines and elsewhere. And export income for the country was going down.

The imposition of the fascist dictatorship in 1972 would result in the aggravation of the agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy, the wastage of resources in infrastructure and other show-off projects, military buildup, and the unlimited remittance of superprofit by the multinational corporations and unbridled graft and corruption; and the rapid rise of foreign debt to a level that it cannot be paid back and serviced.

Marcos reversed the patriotic decisions of the Supreme Court on the Quasha and Luzteveco cases, which decisions curtailed US ownership of land and holding of majority seats by foreigner in Philippine corporations.

Through his 1973 constitution and decrees, Marcos expanded the extraordinary privileges of US multinational corporations. At certain junctures during the Marcos fascist dictatorship, there had been steps taken by the regime to relieve itself of grave problems, and to widen diplomatic relations.

With US consent and with the purpose of being stricken off the Blacklist during the oil embargo in 1973, the Philippines improved its relations with the Arab countries to the point of voting in favor of Arab and Palestinian countries in the United Nations and elsewhere.

Other motives of the Philippine government in improving its relations with the Arab and Islamic countries was to strengthen its position against the Moro National Liberation Front in the Islamic Conference, and to get a share of the construction boom in the Middle East.

In 1975, Sino-Philippine relations were established. The purposes of the US-Marcos regime included easing the way for future Sino-US relations; eroding the relations between the CPP and the CPC widening the foreign market for the depressed Philippine exports. Subsequently, the Philippines also established relations with more Eastern European countries, including the Soviet Union.

But under constraint of US imperialist control, the Philippines was never able to avail itself fully of trade and other economic relations with the socialist countries. Occasionally, Marcos would threaten to engage in counter trade or barter trade with them in order to dispose of its surplus commodities and to get productive and essential goods in return. Also, at rarer times, he would threaten to secure productive equipment from socialist countries on a deferred payment plan, with a part of the annual product of the new

enterprises as payment. But he was merely making boast to embellish his single-minded policy of serving the interests of the US and Japanese multinational firms and falling deeper into the debt trap.

At certain times, he would also threaten to join the conference of nonaligned countries. But he was well satisfied with being a conference observer. He had absolutely no interest in dismantling the US military bases in the country.

In 1978, Marcos entered into a five-year protocol agreement on the US military bases, which pretended to recognize Philippine sovereignty over the said bases but assured the US military forces of unhampered use of base facilities and the prerogative of participating in counterinsurgency operations under the pretext of securing the bases.

The illusion of the US paying rent or compensating for the use of the bases has been created by adding military grants, foreign military credit sales, and training under the Military Assistance Program; and grants and credit under the AID. The annual compensation for the continuing violation of Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity was a measly \$100 million for the years 1979-1984 and \$180 million for the years 1984-1988. The AFP troops have merely taken over the perimeter jobs of Filipino private security guards to create the illusion of Philippine control over the US military bases.

In ASEAN, the Philippines had serious conflicts with Malaysia over the issues of the Philippine claim to Sabah, the oppression of the Moro and Muslim people in Mindanao and the hundreds of thousands of Moro refugees in Sabah. The ASEAN has been stymied by the Philippine-Malaysian conflict. And, of course, the dictum in the ASEAN Accord for a zone of peace and neutralization without foreign military bases and nuclear weapons have remained unheeded by the Philippines.

Worsening Crisis in Philippine Foreign Relations

So far, the Aquino government has not issued any foreign policy declaration departing from the well-entrenched foreign policy dictated by the US. On the other hand, there are indications articulated by the current regime that the same basic foreign policy will remain. After all, fundamental changes in foreign policy can occur only upon a determination to change the semicolonial and semifeudal society.

The Aquino government is determined to conform to the dictates of the IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, the foreign private creditors and the US and other multinational firms. This government is eager to attract the multinational firms, receive US bilateral assistance tied to special privileges for US firms and to the US military bases, beg for better terms on the

accumulated foreign debt and get the country deeper into foreign indebtedness.

The policy thrust is to concentrate on agriculture and shun industrialization, liberalize imports, freeze wages, broaden the domestic tax base, and so on.

There is no indication that the new regime will resort to countertrade with socialist countries so as to dispose of its mainstay export commodities and get productive and other essential goods in return or to build industrial plants payable on installment by a portion of its annual product of income. The regime, however, has decentralized and de-monopolized trading with socialist countries. (The monopoly used to be operated by Marcos and his cronies through the Philippine International Trade Council.)

The regime has consistently declared that it is for respecting the US-RP Military Bases Agreement until 1991, and is keeping its options open. But as early as 1988, the regime will be negotiating a new five-year protocol agreement which will cover the period 1989-1994 beyond the 1991 lapse of the entire US Military Bases Agreement.

The regime continue to be dependent on US military supplies and economic support funds that are tied to the US military bases. Considering the economic and political crisis of the ruling system and the inevitable desperation of those who fix themselves within this system, the regime is bound to extend the life of the US military bases, unless political and diplomatic preparations are made for the opposite possibility.

There is no clear way for the Philippines to resolve its impasse with Malaysia over the Sabah claim, the Moro refugees in Sabah and so on. The Philippine government continues to pay lip service to peace and neutrality in Southeast Asia, but has not acted decisively to gain membership in the conference of nonaligned countries by abrogating the US Military Bases Agreement and banning nuclear weapons in US bases in the country.

The Philippine government cannot perform a creditable role in the Third World struggle for a new international economic order, and for freedom, justice, progress and peace as long as US imperialism and the local reactionary classes continue to ride roughshod over the Filipino people and determine Philippine foreign policy.

JOSE MA. SISON
University of the Philippines
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THE NEW DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Sixth in a series of lectures on PHILIPPINE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION

by Jose Ma. Sison

Delivered at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines

The new democratic revolution of the Filipino people is underway. It is a continuation of the old democratic revolution of 1896 for national liberation and democracy. But it is a new type of national democratic revolution because it is led by the working class, and it is being conducted in a semicolonial and semifeudal country in the era of modern imperialism and world proletarian-socialist revolution.

The old type of democratic revolution was led by the liberal bourgeoisie and was guided by bourgeois-liberal theory which was the revolutionary ideology most applicable to the Philippine colonial and feudal society in the late nineteenth century. That revolution won nationwide victory against Spanish colonialism. But US imperialism, a new type of colonial power, conquered the country, and it was beyond the comprehension of the liberal bourgeois leadership of the revolution.

The world went into transition from the era of bourgeois-capitalist revolution to that of the proletarian-socialist revolution. It would take the great Lenin to extend the Marxist critique of capitalism to a critique of modern imperialism and explain the requirements of social revolution in the east.

In semicolonial and semifeudal Philippines, the working class has grown significantly from its rudiments in the late nineteenth century, and has become the most advanced productive and political force. It has formed not only trade unions for economic struggle, but also a party for revolutionary political struggle as early as 1930, when the first CPP was founded. This party is guided by the revolutionary theory of the working class, which is Marxism-Leninism and applies this theory on the concrete conditions of the Philippine revolution in order to make a practical program of new democratic revolution.

New Democratic Program

The new democratic program seeks the liberation not only of the working class, but of the entire Filipino people from oppression and exploitation by US imperialism and such local ruling class as the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

The classes composing the Filipino people are the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie. All of them have common interest in the new democratic program, which is essentially the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The new democratic program covers comprehensively such fields as politics, economic, culture and international relations.

In politics, the main demand is for the assertion of national sovereignty and the free exercise of civil liberties; in economic, for development through national industrialization and land reform; in culture, for national, scientific and mass-culture; and in international relations, for an independent foreign policy.

The ultimate political objective of the new democratic revolution is the establishment of a people's democratic state which is led by the working class through its party, and is based on the broad alliance of national bourgeoisie.

The People's democratic state replaces the neocolonial state, and realizes fully the new democratic program. US imperialism and the local ruling class cease to oppress and exploit the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. After the rigors of the new democratic revolution, a constitution is instituted.

The people's democratic state is republican in character and is truly representative of the various patriotic and progressive forces. The people enjoy civil liberties and elect their leaders. No longer are the exploiting classes allowed to take cover under the classless abstraction of individual liberties in order to monopolize and manipulate political parties and the electoral processes.

The most respected political organizations and leaders are those who shall have proven to have been the most resolute, the most effective and the most loyal to the people in the course of the new democratic revolution. The civil bureaucracy shall have been reoriented and reorganized. And the main component of the state, the Armed Forces of the Philippines, shall have been replaced by the people's army forces.

But, of course, there is no straight road to the total victory of the new democratic revolution and the full accomplishment of the new democratic program.

The neocolonial state is used by the ruling classes and their foreign master to attack the organized forces of the new democratic movement and the entire Filipino people, and squelch the new democratic demands.

The neocolonial state has been used to render illegal the most resolute and effective organizations and leaders of the new democratic movement, and has therefore justified the people's army waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, and the National Democratic Front.

Notwithstanding the brutal essence of the reactionary state, there are those political organizations and leaders persevering in a legal struggle for basic reforms towards the attainment of national liberation and democracy.

The National democratic movement is not, after all, the monopoly of the armed revolutionaries. It is a broad movement of the toiling masses and the middle social strata, the political Left and Middle forces, and the armed and unarmed revolutionaries. They are waging various forms of revolutionary struggle - legal and illegal.

The class leadership in the new democratic movement belongs to the working class. But this not enough. This would be isolated and futile if not buttressed by a series of support: the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry; the combination of the working class, peasantry and urban bourgeoisie as the basic forces of the revolution; and the broad national united front of these basic forces with the national bourgeoisie.

The neocolonial state is not really awesome and unbeatable. It is rotten to the core. The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has already resulted in a fourteen-year fascist dictatorship, and continues to worsen and provide the basis for the possible reemergence of fascist dictatorship despite the current democratic tendency of the new regime.

The destruction of the neocolonial state is not only due to the growth in strength and advance of the annihilative forces of the new democratic revolution, but also due to the self-disintegration of the ruling system through increasingly violent contradictions of factions within the ruling classes.

Thus, in additions to building the broad national united front of all patriotic and progressive forces, the revolutionary forces take advantage of the increasingly violent conflicts within the ruling classes in order to isolate and destroy the enemy.

The People's War

The Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished on December 26, 1968 on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Its congress of reestablishment repudiated and rectified the errors of the Lava and Taruc-Sumulong cliques in the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist

parties of the Philippines, and made a correct analysis of Philippine history and current conditions in order to set forth revolutionary tasks.

The CPP proceeded to build itself ideologically, politically and organizationally; and to create its two weapons, which are the armed struggle and the united front. On March 29, 1969, it established the New People's Army and discreetly paved the way for a united front organization, the National Democratic Front, whose Preparatory Commission was established on April 24, 1973, in the wake of the imposition of martial law and fascist dictatorship in 1972.

Within the range of the national united front, the rural united front was formulated by the CPP. The rural class line was for the working class through its revolutionary party to rely mainly on the poor peasants and farms workers, win over the middle peasants, and neutralize the rich peasants and enlightened in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

Since the beginning, the CPP has been determine to conduct armed struggle, agrarian revolution, and mass base building as integral components of the protracted strategy of people's war - encircling the cities from the countryside and eventually advancing on the cities.

The NPA had only 35 firearms and was located in the second district of Tarlac in 1969. It had only 350 high-powered rifles and was concentrated in Isabela, but was present in small areas of twelve provinces in six regions of the country at the onset of the fascist dictatorship in 1972.

In 1986, according to press report, the high-powered rifles of the NPA run up to so many thousands in several scores of guerilla fronts in the overwhelming majority of Philippine provinces. The CPP is now in close to 70 provinces.

The fascist dictatorship did not only fail to crush the CPP and the NPA, but served to fan the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle. Furthermore, the tyranny provoked the Moro National Liberation Front and the Moro people to wage an armed struggle for national self determination.

The NPA has been on the strategic defensive, but has been waging tactical offensives in order to accumulate strength. The AFP has been on the strategic offensive and has been hit at precise moments and places that only the NPA knows beforehand. The full-time fighters of the NPA, in varying unit strengths, have been able to seek and create opportunities for ambushes, raids, and other forms of offensives. The strategic stalemate is now foreseeable and is based on cumulative victories.

Wherever it is, the NPA is deeply loved and enthusiastically supported by the peasant masses because it has been able to carry out land rent reduction; push out landgrabbers and punish despotic landlords and bad elements; eliminate usury; arrange fair farms wages and fair prices for farms products; and help raise agricultural production.

The NPA is not yet redistributing land at no cost to the landless tillers, except in areas where it succeeds in driving out the despotic landlords and landgrabbers or in persuading landlords to let peasants and farms workers use idle land. The agrarian revolution depends on the armed strength of the NPA. The peasant masses appreciate this principle.

The NPA also gives priority to demanding higher wages for workers in capitalist enterprises in the countryside. Never are the interests of workers prejudiced by the tax obligations of capitalists who are also allowed to operate at a reasonable or tolerable rate of profit.

While the neocolonial state still exists, the CPP, NPA and NDF are already creating a people's democratic government in the rural areas. The relatively most stable organs of democratic power are the revolutionary barrio committees, with supporting committees for organization, education, defense, land reform, health, arbitration and others.

Also supporting the organs of democratic power are the mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women, children, cultural activities and so on. These mass organizations have general and specific functions. The able-bodied members are organized and trained as the people's militia, the deep reserve and support of the guerilla fighters of the NPA.

The backward villages are being turned into advanced political, economic and cultural bulwarks of the new democratic revolution. Upon the multiplication of guerilla fronts have increased and have already expanded to cover centers and portions of provincial cities.

The big problem for the ruling classes is that they cannot solve the political and economic crisis of their own system, and the armed revolutionary movement is ceaselessly growing in strength and advancing.

The Legal Struggle

The cause of the new democratic revolution is just. It is the cause of the entire Filipino people. It can be legally espoused and acted upon by any patriotic and progressive entity - a party, organization or individual - without having to be a communist.

The reactionaries characteristically commit the error of reacting violently to the espousal of the new democratic cause. It is against their class character as big compradors and landlords to preempt the communists by taking up the new democratic cause or responding to the basic demands of the new democratic movement. And their big problem is how to separate the proletarian revolutionaries and progressive liberal democrats. Both are bound by the just cause of the new democratic revolution.

Thus, the reactionaries have been unable to suppress the legal forces of the new democratic movement. Not even the fascist dictatorship could. The legal struggle of the new democratic movement advanced precisely because of the repressive regime, even if in the first two years of martial rule it appeared that the movement had been successfully repressed.

One of the big failures of the Lavaite leadership in the revolutionary movement after World War II was its failure to invigorate the legal urban mass movement beyond 1950. Even after opting for parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle, and ordering the remaining units of the Hukbong Magpagpalaya ng Bayan in the mid-50s to convert themselves into organizational brigades, which did not materialize, the Lavaites failed miserably to launch militant forms of legal struggle in the urban areas.

It would only be on March 15, 1961 that the first anti-imperialist and civil libertarian mass action could be held. 500 UP students together with some faculty members organized by the Student Cultural Association of the UP and the Inter-fraternity and Sorority Council, stormed the Philippine congress to protest the CAFA witchhunt against certain constituents of the UP for certain writings and other activities allegedly in violation of the Anti-Subversion Law.

There were smaller rallies along the new democratic line from 1962 to 1964. These were capped by a militant rally of 3000 workers and students at Malacañang Palace against the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langlely Agreement.

But after the formation of progressive study groups in the trade union movement and several universities and colleges, and the founding of the Kabataang Makabayan on November 30, 1964, the militant legal struggle of the new democratic movement advanced at an accelerated rate to make the 60s a decade in sharp contrast to the 50s in terms of carrying forward the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement.

Demonstrations, each exceeding 10,000 participants, were initiated by KM, and participated in by a peasant association, the Socialist Party of the Philippines, and the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism.

The marches and rallies were the dramatic manifestation of the steady ideological, political and organizational work conducted by proletarian revolutionaries who eventually repudiated the Lavaites in 1967.

The unprecedentedly militant and large mass action of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 were the outcome of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the resurgence of the new democratic movement since the 60s. The legal struggle of the new democratic movement surged forward until the imposition of martial law on the country in 1972. However, in late 1974, there were already steps taken to put up new legal organizations in various sectors to uphold the people's interest and denounce human rights violations.

The spell of the fascist dictatorship in the cities was broken when in 1975 the workers' strike movement broke out at La Tondena and spread to 300 factories and other work place all over the country. Others workers, urban poor and students would take the cue and participated in demonstration defying the fascist dictatorship.

The noise barrage which swept Metro Manila after the 1978 Interim Batasang Pambansa election should have taken as a signal for the new democratic movement to take the remaining years of the 70s by storm. But the opportunities for advancing the legal struggle of the new democratic movement were not fully availed of.

At any rate, new democratic organizations and coalitions in various sectors emerged in the early 80s. Denunciations and demonstrations against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique became more frequent and stronger. The people's war in the countryside also made dramatic advances.

The outrageous assassination of Benigno Aquino, Jr. would ignite the colossal mass actions that raged from 1983 to 1986, up to the military revolt and people's uprising from February 22 to 25, 1986, which sealed the fate of the US-propped Marcos fascist dictatorship. The scandalous electoral fraud and terrorism in the 1986 "snap election" pushed all forces to the left of Marcos to converge on him and bring him down.

The long-term struggle of the national democratic movement had discredited and weakened the fascist dictatorship regime of the US-Marcos clique. And the U.S. and the local reactionaries outside of the Marcos clique were mortally afraid of the swift advance of the revolutionary movement if Marcos stayed in power any longer. So they decided to let him fall even as the forces of the new democratic movement participated in the February events.

From 1980 to the downfall of Marcos, the economic and political crisis of the ruling system resulted in acute social discontent and turbulence. Although Marcos is already overthrown, the crisis of the ruling system continues, and

the people's democratic struggle goes on to complete the dismantling of the structures of the fascist dictatorship, and to pursue the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal line.

JOSE MA. SISON
University of the Philippines
5 May 1986

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Seventh in a Series of Lectures on PHILIPPINE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION
by Jose Ma. Sison
Delivered at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines

The Philippines has a rapidly growing labor force and a comprehensive and rich natural resource base, including fertile land, forests, waters, and most minerals essential to industrialization. There is no question that a modern industrial economy can be built on the basis of the raw materials available in the country.

The forces of production are already straining against the semifeudal relations of production. But, aside from using economic means to restrain the growth of the productive forces, US monopoly capitalism and the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords are employing the power of the neocolonial state to keep the people at the direst level of subsistence.

The economic development of the Philippines is impossible without the assertion and exercise of the sovereign will of the Filipino people against the US and local exploiting classes. Every crucial measure to remove the semicolonial and semifeudal fetters on the forces of production involves the exertion of that sovereign will.

By economic development, we mean the planned and well balanced development of industry and agriculture - with national industrialization as the leading factors and an agriculture benefited by genuine land reform as the basis of development.

Nationalization of the Economy

The optimum condition for the economic development is the nationalization of the economy. This involves the exercise of the political and economic

sovereign of the Filipino nation, and the liberation of the economy from the clutches of US monopoly capitalism.

Economic policy must no longer be dictated by the US agencies, transnational firms and banks, or through such US-controlled multilateral agencies as the IMF and the World Bank; but must be decided by the Filipino people themselves through their patriotic leaders and economic policymakers and planners.

Unequal agreements and laws extending extraordinary privileges to US investors must be abrogated. The national patrimony must be protected. The strategic industries, the major sources of raw materials, and the major channel of distribution, must be controlled by the people's democratic state.

Filipino entrepreneurs must be given the necessary incentives and support in economic areas where private initiative is productive – through sole proprietorship, partnership, cooperatives, private corporations and joint ventures with the state.

Free reign must be given to the economic effort of the state and Filipino entrepreneurs, instead of allowing foreign investors and their agents to control the domestic patterns of production and consumption and to take superprofits out of the country.

The dominance of US and other transnational firms and banks and the US-controlled multilateral financial agencies must be ended. In case of aggression or economic blockade by these, the assets of unfriendly corporations belonging to the aggressor country can be summarily nationalized or frozen. Otherwise, the terms of expropriation can be amicably settled through negotiations.

The assets of the bureaucrat capitalist and other traitors must be nationalized. However, big compradors who have no record of treason may be allowed to convert their merchant capital into industrial capital, but without allowing them to control the economic and financial system. The agricultural land of the landlord class is subject to land reform.

Nationalizing the assets of foreign and local exploiters means releasing the forces of production and developing both industry and agriculture. It must be recognized that the productive assets in a semifeudal economy are still backward, and the modern's democratic state must lead in laying the foundation of modern industry.

National Industrialization

National industrialization is the main engine in genuine economic development. There can be no way out of the mire of agrarian backwardness, and no way of absorbing the ever increasing surplus labor without national industrialization.

Raw material production must be expanded mainly for local processing in the country. Industries must be established to produce basic metal, basic chemical, capital goods, precision instruments and the like.

Comprehensively, the primary, secondary and tertiary stages of industrial production must be carried out in the country. To limit production to primary commodities for export, like agricultural and mineral products, is to prevent the country from freeing itself from the status of a backward, agrarian and semifeudal economy.

Heavy industry is necessary. But overconcentration of investments in heavy industry must be avoided. Light industry or manufacturing for immediate consumption needs of the people must be expanded as rapidly as possible. This bridges the gap between heavy industry and agriculture.

The present import-dependent manufacturing enterprises, whether of import-substitution or export-oriented variety, can be made reliant on Philippine industries for capital equipment, semiprocessed components and raw materials as far as possible, and can be expanded as part of the development of light industry.

After taking into account the needs of the people and the economy, surpluses in agriculture, mineral and industrial production can be exported in exchange for capital goods and essential consumer goods that are not yet produced or cannot be produced in the country. The main thrust is to acquire capital goods that enhance national industrialization.

To supplement domestic savings for industrial investment, loans for industrialization must be sought. New industrial plants can be paid for on a deferred payments plan, with a portion of the annual product or income as the payment.

All Filipino with managerial, scientific and technical skills must be encouraged to participate in national industrialization. Their ranks can be increased by expanding admission to scientific, engineering and vocational-technical schools.

Foreign experts can be admitted on an exchange basis, or hired in connection with the inflow of new equipment and technology. But Filipino experts must take over within the shortest possible time.

Genuine Land Reform

Genuine land reform ends feudal ownership of land and all feudal and semifeudal forms of exploitation. This emancipates the peasant majority of the people, not only economically, but also politically. This brings about the substance of democracy.

The key measure is genuine land reform is the free distribution of land to the landless tillers, including the poor and lower middle peasants. There is enough land to distribute and make every peasant household self-sufficient.

Tenanted land, land illegally acquired, land foreclosed by state banks, idle and excess portions of export-crop land, public land held under false pretenses (pasture lease, tree farming, etc.) and logged-over land suitable for agriculture can be distributed free to landless tillers.

Fragmentation of land ownership in land reform does not detract from large-scale production. There should be cooperativization in stages for the purpose of raising efficiency in production, marketing and the like.

Integral to the program of land distribution should be provisions for low-interest credit, technical assistance, irrigation and other agricultural facilities; organic and chemical fertilizers; low-priced farm equipment, feeder roads and the like. Peasant associations and cooperatives can help themselves and at the same time receive appropriate assistance from the state.

Land reform releases the surplus product from the clutches of the landlord class. With the peasant masses acquiring more purchasing power, the domestic market for national industry is greatly expanded. As national industrialization advances, the peasant masses raise agricultural production of the food and raw-material requirements of industry.

Genuine land reform and national industrialization are complementary and interactive. One is impossible without the other. Land reform without national industrialization cannot break out of the semifeudal economy. National industrialization without land reform is unattainable because it cannot accumulate capital and is deprived of a wide domestic market.

Genuine land reform ends the flow of the surplus product from the peasant and farm workers through the parasitic landlord class to comprador big bourgeoisie and finally to the US transnational corporations; and begins the flow of the surplus product from the peasants to national industry.

In return, the national industry provides the peasants with goods for productions and consumption; and absorbs the surplus labor in the

countryside arising from the mechanization of agriculture and from population growth.

Economic Planning

Economic planning is needed to achieve rapid but well proportioned and balanced development from the backward economic and technological level of semifeudal economy. To depend on the blind forces of the market is not only to stunt and allow the lopsided growth of the economy, but also to remain vulnerable to the dictates of the US transnational corporations and the local exploiters.

Heavy industry is necessary to lay the foundation of national industrialization. But to make excessively rapid investment in heavy industry to the point of neglecting light industry is to fail in the simultaneous accumulation of capital and satisfaction of the immediate needs of the entire people, especially the peasant masses.

There has to be a well proportioned development of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. Only with economic planning can the proportions be properly determined.

There also has to be a planned development of the economy in the various regions. No single regions should continue to monopolize the bounty of industrial development.

There has to be a fair economic correlation of industrial sites, sources of raw materials and market. The export bias must be replaced by an orientation to process and market the final product mainly in the country.

Certain areas of the economy are best designated for management and investment by the state, joint state-private ventures, private corporations, cooperatives and individual petty commodity producers.

Foreign Economic Relations

The accumulated foreign debt of the Philippines has become so large that it can never be paid back nor even serviced, except by incurring new debts. It is probable that the heavy debtors in the Third World like the Philippines would someday cancel their foreign debts or simply fail to make interest payments.

In preparations for the debtors' voluntary strike or involuntary default, the Philippines should expand and develop its economic relations with socialist countries, within the Third World and the lesser capitalist countries, so that

the US cannot effectively cut off supplies from the country and use other retaliatory measures.

Barter trade can be pursued so that the Philippines can dispose of its raw material export and get return capital goods and essential consumer goods.

Also, the Philippines can seek foreign loans for industrial development, especially from the socialist countries. The new industrial plants can be paid for with a portion of their annual product or income.

By the time that there shall be a people's democratic state resolutely carrying out a policy of national industrialization, the socialist countries and the relatively advanced Third World countries shall have achieved higher levels of development and shall be in a position to extend more accommodations in trade and industrial loans to the Philippines. But these of course shall merely supplement the Filipino people's self-reliant efforts at economic development.

JOSE MA. SISON
9 May 1986

A NATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND MASS CULTURE

Eighth in a Series of Lectures on PHILIPPINE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION
by Jose Ma. Sison
Delivered at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines

To accomplish the Filipino people's new democratic revolution, which is a comprehensive social revolution, it is necessary to make revolution not only in the economic and political fields but also in the cultural field.

Otherwise the U.S. and the local reactionary classes could be use their cultural institutions and influence to control without cease the hearts and minds of the people and facilitate counter-revolution in every field.

Up to the end of the 50s, the attempt to resume the national democratic revolution was a dismal failure, because among the essential causes was the failure of the revolutionary party to undertake a new democratic cultural revolution.

The vigorous ideological and other cultural work of proletarian revolutionaries in the 60s ushered in the new democratic cultural revolution

which broke out in the 1970-72 period starting with the First Quarter Storm of 1970. This cultural revolution would help carry forward the new democratic revolution in a big way.

The New Democratic Cultural Revolution

Pursuant to the dictum that there can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory, the proletarian revolutionaries engaged in ideological work despite the dangers posed by the Anti-Subversion Law.

Ideological work involved the study of the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, the contemporary works of successful proletarian revolutionaries in other countries, and the writing of Filipino revolutionaries. It necessarily involved the study of Philippine history and circumstances with close attention to the basic social problems of the Filipino people and the Philippine revolutionary movement from 1896 to the 50s.

The point was to integrate the revolutionary theory of the vanguard class and party, with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The ideological work resulted in the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism, and on the basic programme of the people's democratic revolution.

What the proletarian revolutionaries did was no different from what the principal leaders of the Katipunan and the Philippine revolution had done in integrating the principles of revolutionary liberal democracy with the concrete conditions of the Philippines.

The dominant pro-imperialist and feudal culture was challenged by the proletarian revolutionaries in three ways: the adoption of Marxism-Leninism as their theoretical guide; the application of this on Philippine conditions through the program of people's democratic revolution; and the promotion of a national, scientific and mass culture.

Soon enough, the new democratic cultural revolution broke out. This took the form of massive rallies and marches, widespread teach-ins and discussion groups, the vigorous promotion of the national language, the efflorescence of protest art and literature, the reorientation of social research and science teaching among many teachers and students. All these were undertaken along the new democratic line.

The popular call for a national, scientific and mass culture was resounding. The students, labor leaders, teachers and other professionals were in the forefront of the new democratic cultural revolution. They formed organizations in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas to pursue the new democratic revolution and create anew democratic culture.

At the same time, proletarian revolutionaries who were in the countryside intensified their ideological work and promoted a new democratic culture. As a matter of course, they were engaged in theoretical and political education, but they also conscientiously established cultural organizations in the rural areas.

It can be assumed that the proletarian revolutionaries have advanced in their ideological and other cultural work as they have advanced in other aspects of their struggle between revolution and counter-revolution.

To speak of a new democratic cultural revolution espousing and creating a national, scientific and mass culture is necessarily to affirm the fruitful activism of proletarian revolutionaries in ideological and other cultural work.

But the progressive liberal democrats have also made significant contributions to the preparation and conduct of the new democratic cultural revolution. They have done well in recalling the revolutionary spirit of 1896, joining the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, combating the reactionary character of the dominant church and defending civil liberties.

The progressive liberal democrats can make bigger contributions to every major aspect of the new democratic revolution only in combining with the proletarian revolutionaries. Both proletarian revolutionaries and progressive liberal democrats recognize that together they can with the new democratic revolution and create a national, scientific and mass culture.

Under the impact of the new democratic cultural revolution, which has militated large numbers of educated youth, quite a number of professors and other professional who have taken higher studies in American and local reactionary schools, and even priest and nuns of the dominant church have recognized the need for a national, scientific, and mass culture.

The new democratic revolution is creating its own organizations and means and at the same time penetrating and taking portions of cultural institutions and processes which have been used to dominate the people.

The National Aspect

The new democratic culture has a national character. It upholds, defends and promotes the national sovereignty and independence of the Filipino people. It celebrates the revolutionary struggle and achievements of the Filipino nation. It inspires this nation to realize its aspirations and attain greater achievements.

It does away with colonial mentality and opposes every cultural aggression of the U.S. It enhances patriotism, the self-respect and the self-reliance of the nation. But it is ever ready to learn and accept foreign things that benefit the nation.

It preserves and cherishes the national cultural heritage from as far back in time as can be brought to light. It seeks to learn from the past in order to serve the present without prejudice to the future.

It promotes the use of the national language as the principal medium of official communication, education and information. The point is to facilitate the common understanding of the entire nation. The dominance of English must be ended, although this language may remain the principal language for foreign intercourse.

While it is concerned with maintaining and developing a modern nation-state, the new democratic culture embraces, respects and promotes the local languages and cultures, especially those of national minorities which have rebelled because of Filipino chauvinism and discrimination. The plurality of these makes Philippine culture rich.

U.S. control of Philippine educational and cultural policies through direct official and unofficial instruments and indirect ones like the World Bank must be terminated. Foreign assistance for education must not result in foreign control of educational policies, staffing, scholarship and research grants, construction of facilities, acquisition of materials and textbook content and production.

Educational policies, courses of study and textbooks (especially in the social sciences and humanities) must be made by Filipino educators imbued with the national spirit and patriotic ideas of the new democratic culture. Textbook writers must be encouraged and well remunerated.

All imported cultural materials like movies, TV programs, books, periodicals and the like as well as cultural performances which do not help in the cultural progress of the Philippines should either be highly taxed or banned, if corrupting.

Filipino writers and artists and cultural productions must be provided with grants and other incentives through their organizations and must not be taxed. They must be enabled to live on their cultural work rather than depend on other means of livelihood.

No foreign entity whatsoever should own any major medium of communications, education or information. Political propaganda by any

foreign entity would be prohibited. Commercial advertising by U.S. and other transnational corporations shall be under strict supervision and control.

The Scientific Aspect

The new democratic culture has a scientific aspect. It adopts a scientific outlook and methodology. It combats the pro-imperialist and reactionary ideas of feudal metaphysics and bourgeois subjectivism.

But it does not waste its time in public on theological and philosophical debates. It respects the freedom of thought and belief. And it seeks the united front and practical cooperation of all scientists, engineers and technologists for the industrial and all-round development of the motherland whether they be dialectical materialists, bourgeois empiricists or believers in a deity.

Science and technology is promoted with the clear purposes of developing the country industrially and economically. The ranks of scientists, engineers and other technologists will be rapidly expanded.

Their scientific and technical expertise shall be used creatively and productively. No longer shall their priorities be limited to seeking positions as sales executives or minor technicians in foreign transnational corporations here and abroad. They shall be in charge of basic processes and full-scale construction.

Programs of study in the basic sciences, engineering, and modern agriculture shall be rapidly expanded. Teachers and students in these fields shall be given top priority and all-out support in remuneration and facilities. They shall be given opportunities to learn the most adaptable and latest advances in science technology abroad through exchange programs and the acquisition of new equipment from abroad.

The scientific outlook and methodology shall prevail in the social sciences. Social science studies and research shall concentrate on the processes of oppression and exploitation through the ages and in recent or current circumstances, and the struggle of the oppressed and exploited to liberate themselves. The point is not only to understand or interpret the laws of social change, but to change oppressive and exploitative social conditions.

The social scientists should be encouraged to do their social research among the people, and not to limit themselves to library research. The point is to learn how the people themselves can change their own conditions for their own benefit, without the stresses of dogmatism and bourgeois scientism and the unreasonable trends of thought and belief among the people.

In the humanities, it is part of the scientific outlook and methodology to know and respect all the cultural accomplishments of the past, preserve them for appreciation or criticism, and adopt traditional cultural forms for the promotion of revolutionary ideas and sentiments.

Social realism, revolutionary romanticism, social criticism and other healthy schools of thought and trends of style must be encouraged in new artistic and cultural creations and in critical work. Large numbers of artists must be able to live on their artistic professions through their own organizations and cultural production units.

Health, sports, entertainment and all other cultural programs must be geared toward the mental and physical well-being and fitness of the people for social revolution and construction.

Within and outside definite programs in the natural science, social sciences and humanities, in direct relation to definite programs of the social revolution and construction, full play must be given to the initiative and creativity of individuals and collectives.

The professionals and technicians of the country would not go abroad if opportunities for their gainful employment and creativity were assured and expanded by the industrial and all-round progress of the country.

The Mass Aspect

The new democratic culture has a mass aspect. It serves the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants, in their all-round revolutionary struggle and productive work.

To raise their own consciousness and effectiveness in revolution and production, the people must become literate. The public school system must be expanded and high school education for the youth must become universal. Campaign must be waged to wipe out illiteracy, and must be effective because they are related to revolution and production.

The higher the level of formal education that certain persons attain, the greater is their tendency to be divorced from the toiling masses. To close the widening gap between those who have higher education and those who have lower education, there must be no let-up in promoting the revolutionary spirit that binds the two, and there must be practical programs of bringing to the people the direct service of the educated as well as programs to raise the educational level of the people who have had no opportunities to enroll in formal schools.

The print and electronic media must be used to bring complete courses of study to the unschooled as well as to popularise scientific and technical knowledge on current problems in social revolution and production.

Artistic and other cultural creations which are of high aesthetic standards and which reflect the sufferings, struggles and achievements of the working people must be promoted. At the same time, a great mass of artists and cultural activists must be developed to create what they can, using traditional and modern forms.

There must be cultural cadres deployable from centers ranging from national to the municipal. And there must be cadres who came from local communities which sponsor their higher education and training for the purpose of serving them for definite period of time.

The revolutionary orientation of education and culture and the spirit of service to the people are the motivation that will keep the professionally and technically trained in the country. So long as these motivations are instilled in them, and they get decent remuneration, the educated will not leave the country only to get decent remuneration but suffer the pain of exile.

In the course of the new democratic revolution, cultural cadres arise in the urban centers and in the local rural communities. The new democratic revolution will win because these cadres do their work well, increase their ranks, and serve the people well.

Jose Ma. Sison
13 May 1986

INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY

Ninth in a Series of Lectures on PHILIPPINE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION
by Jose Ma. Sison
Delivered at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines

In the course of the new democratic revolution, the revolutionary forces (parties, mass organizations, movements and alliances) develop fraternal and friendly relations with their counterparts in as many countries as possible in order to counteract U.S. domination and intervention. Thus, by the time that the revolution wins, the development of people-to-people relations shall have

prepared well the establishment of relations between the people's democratic state and other states.

Just as they encourage a certain government, which is not yet led by the revolutionary class and party, but has a patriotic and progressive tendency, to adopt significant reforms in domestic policy, the revolutionary forces push the adoption of an independent foreign policy by that government. The legal democratic forces expose and oppose the foreign policy that is subservient to that of the U.S. and propose an active independent foreign policy.

It is upon the victory of the new democratic revolution that the Philippines can fully adopt and implement this policy. That is because the revolutionary forces are in power and the domestic basis for a subservient foreign policy had been removed. The people's democratic state has to make the most out of diplomatic relations in order to uphold, defend and promote Philippine sovereign and all other national rights and interests.

An Independent Foreign Policy

An independent foreign policy is one based on national sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is free from foreign domination and looks after all the national rights and interest of the Filipino people and the Philippine state. Independence is but the external dimension of sovereignty and should be exercised to affirm and enhance the latter.

An independent foreign policy puts the Philippines on an equal footing with every other state of Whatever size and strength. Under the principle of independence and equality, the Philippines can develop relations of mutual respect, mutual benefit and mutual support with every other state; and shunts off foreign domination and interference of any kind.

An independent foreign policy of the Philippines could adhere to the time-honored five principles of peaceful coexistence, which are mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence in developing diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries.

Under these principle, the Philippines can have relations with all countries irrespective of ideology and social system. These relations can be of a bilateral character as well as through multilateral organizations and agencies such as the United Nations and others which do not have any aggressive character.

The people's democratic state opposes imperialism, hegemonism, and colonialism. Just as it abhors being under the sway of these evil forces, it unites with the people of other countries in fighting these. It supports the oppressed nations and the underdeveloped countries in their just struggle for national independence and economic development. It stands firmly against foreign interference and wars of aggression, help safeguard world peace, and promotes the cause of human progress.

The Philippines can employ its diplomatic relations not only to help ensure a peaceful environment for its self-reliant all-round development and for mutually beneficial economic, cultural, scientific and technological exchanges. Foreign support and assistance to the Philippines can supplement the self-reliant efforts of the people and the Philippines can strive to give support and assistance to any country or people in need.

Relations with the U.S.

To realize a truly independent foreign policy, the Philippines and the Filipino people must first of all abrogate the unequal treaties and agreements with the U.S., as well as repeal the laws according national treatment and other extraordinary privileges to the U.S. transnational corporations.

The US-RP Military Bases Agreement must be abrogated as soon as possible or allowed to lapse in 1991. The U.S. military bases must be dismantled because they violate Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity, and are the launching pad of aggression and a magnet for nuclear attack.

The Philippines stands to gain more by acquiring the permanent improvements on the land, converting the ports into international civilian ones, and using the extensive land area for agriculture, mining and industrial purposes rather than by receiving some measly amount of "compensation."

The US-RP Military Assistance Agreement must be abrogated because it puts the Armed Forces of the Philippines under U.S. control. The Philippine state remains a neocolonial one so long as its main component, the AFP, remains dependent on U.S. planning, advice, military grants military sales credit, officer training and so on.

The US-RP Mutual Defense Pact must be abrogated because it allows U.S. troops to intervene in the internal affairs of the Philippines. So must the Manila Pact be abrogated as well, even if it has practically a useless scrap of paper, especially after the dismantling of the SEATO machinery.

The Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency must be stopped from subverting the Philippines and manipulating intelligence "assets" in the AFP, the civil bureaucracy and the private sector.

The dictates of U.S. economic policy through the IMF, World Bank and other multilateral agencies must come to an end. The Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement must be scrapped because it allows US economic and technical advisers, under the pretext of aid, to subvert the Philippines.

Also, Public Law 480 I and II must not be used for influencing Philippine economic policy and supporting propaganda campaigns, educational exchange programs and other schemes which subvert the Philippines.

Such U.S. governmental agencies as AID, USIS, the US Educational Board, the Peace Corps, the National endowment for Democracy; foundations like the Asia Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, and the Asian-American Free labor Institute; and other official and private U.S. agencies must be stopped from subverting the Philippines.

There are those who say that if U.S. domination is ended by the sovereign Filipino people, the Philippines would fall into the hands of another foreign power. The answer to this is that if the Filipino people can end U.S. domination, they can as well prevent domination by any other foreign power.

While the Filipino people rely on themselves in liberating themselves from U.S. domination, they can win the support of the American proletariat and people in frustrating U.S. domination, interference, intervention or aggression. The Filipino people have a wide range of international support from progressive countries, peoples, parties, movements and organizations in combating U.S. imperialism.

The people's democratic state in the Philippines can have normal diplomatic and trade relations with the United States as soon as this superpower ceases its domination of and aggressive schemes against the Philippines and the Filipino people.

Relations with Asia, Africa and Latin America

Before and after winning the new democratic revolution, the Filipino people can draw abundant support from the countries, peoples, movements and organizations in Asia, Africa and Latin America; and they can also make significant contributions through revolutionary efforts to the advance of anti-imperialist forces in these regions which have been the victims of imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

The Philippine revolutionary forces can seek and develop relations of solidarity and cooperation with their counterparts in the other countries of these regions. Upon the establishment of a new democratic state in the Philippines, it shall become possible to develop both state-to-state and people-to-people relations.

It is understandable that while still out of power, the Philippine revolutionary forces lay stress on seeking and developing solidarity and cooperation with their counterparts abroad. But even then they welcome the movement of countries to expand and consolidate the non-aligned bloc and to demand a new international economic order.

The people's democratic state shall join the non-aligned bloc and help push further the demand for a new international economic order. It shall join the nonaligned and underdeveloped countries in every move against the imperialist schemes of the U.S. within and outside the United Nations and other forums.

The demand of an increasing number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America for freedom from imperialist dictates and for economic sovereignty, development and extrications from the debt trap, is encouraging to the Philippine revolutionary forces. Political and economic cooperation among countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America can be developed for their individual and collective benefit.

The Philippine revolutionary forces wish the Philippines to further develop friendly relations with all neighboring countries in Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia. They also wish the countries of ASEAN to realize their dream of a zone of peace and neutrality free from foreign military bases and nuclear weapons.

The Philippine revolutionary forces look forward to the establishment of a people's democratic state with an independent, neutral and nonaligned foreign policy, co-existing peacefully with all neighboring countries and developing with them relations of mutual benefit.

Relations with Socialist Countries

Socialist countries can engage in diplomatic relations with countries irrespective of their ideology and social system. But they must see to it that their diplomacy does not help the U.S. imperialists and local reactionaries in their campaign of suppression against the Filipino people and revolutionary forces.

Socialist countries are bound by the principles of proletarian internationalism, and must allow their revolutionary forces to have the best of

fraternal relations with the Philippine revolutionary forces, and extend moral and material support to them. The amount of support extended is a measure of proletarian internationalism.

The Philippine revolutionary forces, a coalition government in which they participate, or a people's democratic state in the Philippines, can expect from socialist countries and their peoples some amount of support in the making of an independent foreign policy, and in coping with retaliatory measures undertaken by the U.S.

A coalition government in which the revolutionary forces participate, or at best a people's democratic state, can get political support for its independent foreign policy, and larger than usual economic and trade accommodations from socialist countries.

The socialist countries are sympathetic to countries wanting to become economically self-reliant and to develop a national industry among others. The Philippines can exchange its commodities with capital goods as well as with essential consumer goods from socialist countries.

The Philippines can also negotiate for capital goods on a loan basis, with repayments to be made with an annual portion of the prospective product or income from the new industries. Soft loans for industrial development from socialist countries are in sharp contrast to the loans for infrastructure projects and high consumerism which have sunk the Philippines deep into the debt trap.

As the US squeezes it because of its colossal accumulated debt and hunger for foreign funds, the Philippines will be pressed to seek a way out of its financial and economic problem, will conjoin with other underdeveloped debtor countries in resistance, and will further develop relations with socialist countries.

Relations with Other Capitalist Countries

Among capitalist countries other than the U.S., there are those who follow the baton of the U.S., and there are those who follow it less, or are assertive of their independence.

The Philippines can make use of contradictions among the capitalist countries in order to get more room for maneuver in looking after its own interests and making an independent foreign policy.

Some capitalist countries can be less demanding than the U.S. because they wish to gain further concessions for their own firms in the dog-eat-dog world of capitalism. The Philippines can skillfully remove the extraordinary

privileges of the U.S. by encouraging other capitalist countries to expand and improve trade and other economic relations with the Philippines without the necessity of unequal treaties and agreements and imperialist privileges.

As time passes and the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens, the trend of independence from U.S. dictates will gain ground in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, Oceania, Japan and Canada. These capitalist countries other than the U.S. can supply capital goods and essential consumer goods to the Philippines.

At any rate, for the Philippines and the Filipino people to make their independent foreign policy in order to enhance national sovereignty and internal socio-economic and cultural development, they must rely mainly on self-reliant revolutionary efforts; must unite most firmly with the nonaligned and other progressive countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, with the socialist countries and peoples the world over, and with the proletariat and peoples of capitalist countries; and must take advantage of the contradictions among and within capitalist countries in order to frustrate the most aggressive and exploitative forces of U.S. imperialism.

All revolutionary and other positive forces abroad who are willing to help the Philippines and the Filipino people in the struggle for national independence and democracy are welcome.

Jose Ma. Sison
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PROSPECTS OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION
Tenth in Series of Lectures on
PHILIPPINE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION

by Jose Ma. Sison

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University of the Philippines

The U.S. and anti-Marcos reactionaries describe as a "pre-emptive revolution of the middle class" the combined military revolt and people's uprising which overthrew the Marcos fascist dictatorship and brought about the Aquino government.

The description seeks to obscure the long-term struggle of the revolutionary forces and the broad masses of the people against the US-Marcos regime as well as deny completely the direct and indirect participation of legal forces of the national democratic movement in the events of February 22-25.

But the description clearly implies that the U.S. and the local reactionaries (including the dominant church) finally decided to completely junk Marcos after supporting him for a long time in order to pre-empt what they mortally feared as the far more rapid advance of the revolutionary mass movement if the fascist dictatorship would be prolonged in the wake of the rigged snap presidential election.

It is as if the change of president and the retreat from outright fascist dictatorship could conjure away the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system, the growth of the revolutionary forces, and the possibilities of a coalition government (including the revolutionary forces) and the people's democratic state.

The Ever Worsening Crisis

There is no end in sight to the ever worsening economic and political crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system, except a revolutionary upheaval. So far, the Aquino government has not offered any set of radical measures to bring about any prolonged relief from or lasting solution to the grave social problems.

Not all the structures of the fascist dictatorship have been dismantled. The most important of these - the Armed Forces of the Philippines - has not been reoriented and reorganized in accordance with the national and democratic interests of the people. Militarization of extensive rural areas continues. Military campaigns of suppression against the people and the revolutionary forces have been intensified in accordance with the dictates of U.S. imperialism and the worst reactionary interests carried over from the US-Marcos regime.

The major questions of national sovereignty and democracy remain unanswered by the new regime. There is no comprehensive program of economic development covering land reform and national industrialization to solve poverty, unemployment, hunger and other glaring socio-economic problems and to bring about social justice as the lasting basis of national reconciliation and peace.

The U.S. continues to compel the Philippines to remain agrarian, import finished products liberally, wait on foreign investors to invest in non-industrial

and quick profit areas, beg for international financial aid, cover deficits, service old debts with new debts, and press down the incomes of the toiling masses and the middle social strata through disemployment, heavy taxation, high interest rates, inflation and devaluation.

With the continuing crisis of the world capitalist system, the depressed state of the raw-material exports of the Philippines, the inflated prices of imports and the increased difficulties of borrowing, even the upper classes of big compradors and landlords are finding the Philippine economy ever tighter than before as they have less foreign exchange for their own purposes.

Because of the tighter economic situation, the conflicts among the factions of big compradors and landlords are bound to further intensify. What the US-Marcos clique initiated as the flagrant use of state power to gain political and economic advantages is the same thing required to take back and eventually shift such advantages to other private entities.

The so-called snap revolution of February has not ended violence but has paved the way for a spiral of violence among factions of the ruling classes no matter how strident they may be in spreading anti-communist bias and misrepresenting the revolutionary forces as the original, sole and chief source of violence.

The situation of the factions of the ruling classes is now more complicated and more fraught with violence than ever before. The confrontation between the Marcos faction and the Aquino faction is likely to break out in violent incidents inside and outside the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The Marcos faction has large financial, military and political advantage which the opposition parties of the past did not have. And the Aquino faction is still in the process of deriving advantages from a presidency over a bankrupt government and economy and from the position of commander-in-chief over a military that is now under the control of former trustees of the fallen dictator who are taking direct orders from the U.S.

The AFP is definitely more fractious than ever before. There are now three blocs of officers within the AFP. These are the Enrile-Ramos-RAM bloc, the Marcos bloc and the Aquino bloc. These are stated in their order of strength.

The Enrile-Ramos RAM bloc is dominant and is practically autonomous from the authority of Mrs. Aquino as president and commander-in-chief. It is based mainly in the oversized security force of the defense minister, the Philippine Constabulary and the beneficiaries of recent promotions. It is wary of both the Marcos and Aquino blocs in the AFP although it sides with the Aquino presidency against Marcos.

Despite the fall of Marcos and Ver and the ouster of notorious top-level Marcos loyalists, the Marcos bloc persists in the AFP not only because the lower Marcos loyalist officers have managed to stay on in the AFP but also because a considerable number of integree officers tend to join them in reaction to the arrogance, discrimination and bullying by PMA graduates in the RAM. The Ver-Ramas faction in the AFP deliberately cultivated in the past a following among integree officers in the Philippine Army and all intelligence services.

The Aquino bloc is still in the process of developing. Its next problem is how to superimpose itself on the two other blocs. This bloc includes not only the much-reduced military guards and intelligence coordinating agency directly under the President, but also the following of the deputy defense minister General Iletto in the Philippine Army and a significant number of officer in the Philippine Air Force.

Aside from the aforementioned three major blocs of politicized officers, there are the IROG and fraternities of integree officers who are proud of their numerical superiority in the overexpanded AFP and are wary or resentful of the PMA graduates in the elite of the RAM; groups of officers engaged in corruption and other criminal activities; groups of officers who talk of making a coup de 'etat but who do not know how to keep power if they seize it; and groups of officers and men who are secret sympathizers of the revolutionary movement.

As manifested by the intensifying conflict between the Aquino and Marcos forces and the fractiousness of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the process of disintegration is at work within the ruling social system. Under the annihilative blows of the armed revolutionary movement, the AFP is bound to crack up further.

Within the Aquino government particularly, there is the tension between the civilian and military authority as well as among the political parties supporting the government. But of course, the relations of these parties are by and large still amicable and these parties tend to cohere against the comeback threat of the Marcos forces and are alert to the voracity of the AFP for public funds and US assistance as well as to the ambitions of the military.

The already high and still rising expenditures for the military, contrasting sharply with austerity measures on the civilian side of the government, is outrageous to the people. Every increase in military expenditures will further enrage the people and isolate the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

But of course the continuing atrocities and abuses being perpetrated by the AFP in the service of foreign and feudal interests are the most outrageous to the people and are fanning the flames of armed resistance. The Aquino

government has to rein in the AFP in order to pave the way for national reconciliation or to let it loose without let-up until the armed revolution smashes it completely.

Letting the AFP loose on the people is not without its risks to the Aquino government. The intensification of armed struggle can in so short of time exact a heavy financial and political cost on the government, encourage the direct line of the U.S. to the AFP and whip up militarist political ambitions.

If sincerely interested in a lasting truce and national reconciliation, the Aquino government has to call back the military to the barracks and reduce the force level and expenditures, dissolve the CHDF and para-military units, and return the police to the local civilian officials even before there is any formal ceasefire between the AFP and the NPA.

Savings as a result of the reduction of military expenditures can be used immediately for economic development and essential public services. The reduction of AFP strength will put into full play the political initiative of the civil government and cut down militarist ambitions.

Even without any formal ceasefire yet, the Aquino government can put the AFP into a standstill with the NPA and thereby at least reduce the armed conflict drastically. It is merely a matter of shifting the AFP from its strategic offensive to the strategic defensive in the same manner that the NPA has always been on the strategic defensive.

The Aquino government should cast away the illusion that the so-called new AFP has already won the hearts and minds of the people and turned these against the revolutionary movement. The so-called snap revolution has at best brought political relief to the urban middle class from the rigors of fascist dictatorship, but the basic problems of modern imperialism and domestic feudalism continue to afflict the people, especially those in the countryside.

Although the U.S. is apparently desirous of maintaining it for a while, the Aquino government itself is now increasingly pressed by the people to complete the dismantling of the structures of the fascist dictatorship and to solve the basic problems that in the first place brought about the fascist dictatorship. These are the problems of US imperialism and domestic feudalism.

The Growing Revolutionary Forces

The ever worsening crisis of the ruling system provides the fertile ground for the growth of the revolutionary forces. These organized forces include

mainly the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front. Somehow, whether they like it or not, the legal democratic forces also contribute to the advance of the Philippine revolution.

To the extent that the revolutionary organizations of the Moro people fight for national self-determination, they support the entire Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. And they in turn derive support from victories of this struggle.

The CPP is bound to strengthen itself and advance ideologically, politically and organizationally in the course of the Philippine revolution.

The CPP has a wealth of experience for summing up and analysis under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism. The enhancement of achievements and rectification of shortcomings allow the setting forth of tasks to hasten the victory of the new democratic revolution within the foreseeable future.

Some people may say that the CPP was not able to avail itself fully of the political opportunities from 1978 to 1986 in order to advance the armed struggle and united front, and play a far greater role in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and take a far greater share of the victory.

But great advances were still made by the CPP. Although certain opportunities passed without maximum availment by the CPP, the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system continues to provide these for rapid revolutionary advance.

In areas where there is yet no intense armed conflict, the U.S. and local reactionaries appear to afford the niceties of civil liberties. There are conditions for developing the legal democratic forces and building the united front on a nationwide scale.

There is no guarantee as to how far and how long civil liberties are respected. But all legal democratic forces can assure themselves with the fact that even while the Marcos fascist dictatorship rode roughshod over the people, the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal organizations and alliances could exist and wage militant mass struggles.

In comparable situations where the revolutionary armed struggle continued to advance, legal-democratic forces could as well advance even as they waged militant struggles against the regime that launched the most vicious assaults against the people, especially in the countryside.

The military campaigns of suppression now being intensified in certain areas in the countryside against the people and the revolutionary armed forces cannot be successful.

The people's army has the capability of launching tactical offensives and counter-offensives not only in the guerilla front under enemy attack, but in so many other guerilla fronts all over the country. The AFP cannot destroy the NPA in any single region by concentrating superior forces on it and reducing forces in urban areas and other regions if the forces of the NPA in these latter areas conduct counter-offensives to relieve the region under attack.

The sequence of the three strategic stages of people's war (defensive, stalemate, offensive) is clearly the probable course of development. Some more time is needed to develop revolutionary armed forces in the countryside and advance in waves on urban areas. Eventually, the people's army can make assaults on the last strongholds of its enemy.

Insurrection can be undertaken only when the ruling system is in a rapid state of disintegration without any prompt intervention of the U.S., and the revolutionary forces can be at the core of the spontaneously rising masses, and have sufficient strength not only to seize power but also to keep it.

On the basis of its current strength, the NPA can use its rural-based guerilla forces and armed city partisans to seize arms at will on a wide scale, and frequently from inferior AFP units, municipal police forces, paramilitary units and private security forces.

In a matter of a few years, the NPA can fully develop the strategic defensive and reach the strategic stalemate by actively seeking and creating the opportunities for wiping out or disarming adversary units. The strategic stalemate and offensive are relatively brief stages if the revolutionary armed forces have the anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, avail themselves of the weapon of popular insurrection, and the U.S. does not come promptly to the succor of its puppet forces in a big way as in Vietnam.

To make sure that they can seize and keep power, the CPP will certainly increase the quantity and quality of its cadres and members; the NPA will develop a series of fighting formations at the zone, front, regional and interregional level; and the NDF will have to build organs of political power upwards from the village level.

Upon the smashing of the military machinery of the reactionary state, the people's democratic state can be established. Before then, a lot of hard struggle has to be waged by the revolutionary forces and the people.

However, if the Aquino government is serious about national reconciliation and lasting peace, it must be ready to transform itself soon into a coalition government which pursues the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal line and includes the revolutionary forces.

The crisis of the ruling system is so grave that the Aquino government will have to decide soon whether to form this coalition government or not. President Aquino herself has acknowledged that after six months of the regime it will begin to have serious difficulties if it cannot offer effective solutions to the basic problems of the people.

It is mutually advantageous for the Aquino government and the revolutionary forces to establish a line of communication regarding national reconciliation, ceasefire and a possible coalition government as soon as possible. This line of communication is necessary if only to forestall the threat of the Marcos forces or any other threat from within the AFP in the meantime. Eventually, a coalition government can be worked out.

Monopoly of political power by a new clique of big compradors and landlords subservient to U.S. imperialism and attended to by a retinue of fresh recruits from the middle class; and the use of the same military machinery that had been used by the fallen fascist dictator to oppress the people will only serve to hasten the possible return of fascist dictatorship and the consequent victory of the armed revolutionary movement.

Notwithstanding all the imperialist and clericalist celebration of the so-called snap revolution as a pre-emption of armed revolution, the root causes of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the rise of the armed revolution can make the Aquino government very desperate soon.

To improve its position in time to come, the Aquino government has to come to terms with the revolutionary movement on questions of national sovereignty and the realization of genuine land reform and national industrialization.

In a coalition government, the revolutionary forces keep their integrity, have a share of political power and retain the people's army. If a coalition government is not possible, the revolutionary forces can as always aim for the establishment of a people's democratic state.

Jose Ma. Sison
University of the Philippines
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