

# **PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT**

## **PART I**

### **BACKGROUND TO THE PROGRAM CRISIS AND REVOLUTION IN PHILIPPINE SOCIETY**

Ours has been a history of long and arduous struggle for national and social liberation. The most glorious pages of our history had been written by the oppressed and exploiting people rising up in arms to defend themselves and fight for their rights against foreign and local oppressors and exploiters.

Ours is an unfinished revolution. Today we continue to be engaged in the task of completing the struggle for national liberation and genuine democracy.

#### **Revolutionary Tradition**

Our forefathers waged hundreds of armed uprisings against the Spanish invasion and colonial rule. The greater part of Mindanao and the Cordilleras were never subdued by the Spanish conquistadores due to the fierce and able resistance of the people.

In 1896, the Katipunan launched a national and democratic revolution which became the first anticolonial struggle in Asia to win victory. However, the United State intervened and carried out a war of aggression, starting in 1899, in order to deprive the Filipino people of their national freedom.

The Filipino people valiantly fought against the vastly superior US military force. The United States was able to impose its rule on the whole Philippines by combining barbaric repression to crush the patriotic resistance with a policy of deception and cooptation. The ilustrado leadership, bourgeois liberal in ideology, capitulated to the new colonizer. And the local exploiting classes became the agents of an imperialist master which doled out economic and political favors to them.

The country's economy was tied to the US through a colonial pattern of production and trade. It served as a source of cheap raw materials and an importer of finished products. This immensely benefited the big compradors and landlords but stunted domestic industrialization and perpetuated a backward agricultural economy.

All throughout US colonial rule, the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the patriotic intellectuals voiced their opposition and waged struggles for the realization of their national and democratic aspirations.

The decade of the 1930s saw the emergence of two major organizations that sought to combine the fight for national independence with the struggle for fundamental social

change. The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), founded in 1930, led the rapidly growing labor movement. In 1932 the Socialist Party of the Philippines (SPP) was organized and gave the peasant movement new vigor. Calling for national independence, social justice and land reform, the radical workers and the organized peasantry joined hands.

When World War II broke out, these forces rallied and mobilized the people to wage a vigorous guerrilla struggle against the Japanese invaders. The Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (Hukbalahap) led by the merged CPP-SPP played a major role in the armed resistance. Because they had armed power, the people were able to set up local resistance governments and carry out land reform.

But, owing to the purely anti-Japanese line taken by the leadership and further misled by the slogan of "peace and democracy", the revolutionary forces and people were unprepared for -- and were thus unable to resist -- the violent restoration of the rule of the US imperialists and their landlord-comprador puppets. Consequently, the people lost the armed political power they had won.

### **Neocolonial Rule**

The grant of bogus independence in 1946 represented a major shift in US imperialist strategy towards neocolonial rule, as a result of the relentless clamor of the people for national independence and the upsurge of national liberation movements throughout the world. State power was entrusted to a succession of puppets to cover up continuing US imperialist domination and control.

Taking advantage of the country's prostrate condition after the war, the US forced unequal treaties on the fledgling neocolonial republic. These treaties allowed the US to freely exploit the country's economic resources, control the reactionary armed forces, to keep large military bases on Philippine soil and exercise political hegemony.

Under the canopy of seemingly democratic institutions, political dynasties and power blocs representing landlord-comprador interests and operating through a two-party system held sway throughout the country. They dictated the reactionary course of Philippine politics, blocking the avenues for representation in government and preventing much needed social change.

The revolutionary forces had no choice but to rise up in arms once again in 1950 in order to push forward the people's national and democratic demands. A large-scale and bloody counter-revolutionary campaign directed by the Pentagon and the US Central Intelligence Agency crushed the resurgent armed struggle waged by the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (HMB) in the early fifties. Militant trade unions, peasant associations and other people's organizations were brutally suppressed. The counterrevolutionary campaign of the US and the local reactionary classes succeeded

because the revolutionary forces were weakened by the unrectified disorientation and "left" and right opportunist errors of the Lava leadership of the old merger party.

The entire decade of the fifties was a period of intense repression. Strident anti-communism and unbridled worship of things American prevailed. But patriots and progressives led by Claro Mayo Recto and elements from the national bourgeoisie conducted anti-imperialist propaganda and agitation from the late 50s to the early 60s.

US imperialism and the local ruling classes of big compradors and landlords collaborated in seeking to pacify the people through electoral circuses that foisted illusions of democracy and through such token reforms as the fake land reform programs of the Magsaysay and Macapagal administrations. The Philippines became embroiled in US wars of aggression against national liberation movements in the region. US bases in the Philippines were used as launching pads for the deployment of US military forces to the Korean peninsula in the 50s and Indochina in the 60s and 70s. Puppet governments even sent Filipino soldiers to fight and die alongside US troops -- to make the world safe for US big business.

But within the neocolonial order, a crisis was brewing. The economy was stagnating and poverty was on the rise. The policy of import-substitution in the 50s, which was heavily dependent on foreign sources of raw materials and machinery, only managed to bring about a very superficial import-dependent kind of manufacturing and a worsening of the trade imbalance.

The US and the IMF took advantage of this situation to impose a policy of decontrol and devaluation at the start of the 60s. Nascent Filipino industries stagnated or collapsed. The colonial pattern of trade became even more firmly entrenched.

Foreign capital made greater inroads into the Philippine economy and sapped it through heavy capital repatriation. Ever increasing balance-of-payments deficits led to growing dependence on foreign loans. Inflation reared its ugly head.

In the late sixties, the land frontier was exhausted. Settlers were rapidly being overtaken by traditional and new landlords. In the absence of industrial development, the excess population had nowhere to go but to compete for odd jobs in both rural and urban areas.

The Philippine crisis deepened as successive puppet regimes adopted the development strategies and programs imposed by US imperialism through the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

### **Revolutionary Upsurge**

In the 1960s, mass discontent was breaking out and the national democratic movement was again on the upsurge as a result of the grave crisis of the ruling system. Also, the

propaganda and organizing work of new proletarian revolutionaries and some veteran cadres of the old merger party was beginning to bear fruit.

The progressive mass movement also drew inspiration from world-wide protests against the US war of aggression in Vietnam, the rise of student radicalism in the West and Japan, the Chinese cultural revolution, and the revolutionary upheavals and advance of national liberation movements in Third World countries.

In the capital and other urban centers, the nationalist movement was being rekindled among students and intellectuals over such issues as parity rights, US bases, nationalization of the retail trade and Philippine involvement in the US war of aggression in Vietnam.

The workers' movement was resurgent. The end of the 60s witnessed the massive outbreak of workers' strikes supported by student activists. After nearly two decades of dominance of yellow trade unionism, the workers' movement gained new vigor from the reintegration of revolutionary ideas into trade union struggles.

In the countryside, mass struggles for land rights and against landlord abuses were spreading. National democratic slogans and propaganda were reaching a growing number of the peasantry. These increasingly radicalized the peasantry, as manifested in spasms of violent peasant actions.

Remnants of the old people's army fell under the control of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique. However, the good commanders and fighters were encouraged by the propaganda movement in the cities to link up with the urban-based revolutionary youth organizations.

Armed actions of lumads also erupted in Agusan, Bukidnon, Surigao and other Mindanao provinces against rampant logging by foreign and local capitalist concessionaires and against the abuses of their armed guards.

The Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished as the advanced detachment of the Philippine working class in 1968. It set forth the general line of new democratic revolution of the people under working class leadership and with a socialist perspective. Under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army was founded in 1969.

The Party and the people's army raised the banner of protracted people's war for the overthrow of the bankrupt ruling system, and immediately began laying the foundation of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and the revolutionary mass movement and underground in the cities.

A series of protest actions led by militant youth and student organizations erupted in Manila from January to March 1970. Known as the First Quarter Storm of 1970, this powerful political and cultural movement placed the key issues of US imperialism,

feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism on the national agenda, propagated the call for a national democratic revolution on an unprecedented scale, and ushered in a new high tide of revolutionary struggle and militancy of the Filipino people.

Moro intellectuals and a number of traditional leaders called for struggle against national oppression and the assertion of their right to self-determination. They started organizing, launched militant actions and prepared for armed struggle.

### **Fascist Dictatorship**

As the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system intensified and the broad masses of the people clamored for revolutionary change, the exploiting classes could no longer rule in the old way. Martial law was imposed and the Marcos fascist dictatorship was established in 1972 to stem the revolutionary tide and to rescue and prolong the system of imperialist domination and reactionary rule.

Through naked armed force and open terror, the US-Marcos dictatorship swept away whatever democratic processes and forms still existed. The patriotic and progressive forces as well as even those sections of the ruling classes not belonging to the Marcos faction became the targets of repression. The fascist dictatorship built up an enormous military machinery and propaganda apparatus to maintain its fascist tyranny, especially over the broad masses of the people. Increasing militarization gave rise to unparalleled human rights violations.

Fascist decrees and the Marcos constitution overturned earlier anti-imperialist gains. Every area of the economy was opened up to imperialist plunder and control, and imperialist privileges were not only retained but multiplied several times over.

The massive entry of multinationals into the banking industry was facilitated, foreign agro-corporations were allowed to take over large tracts of agricultural land, and the development of an integrated steel industry in the hands of Filipino entrepreneurs was stunted. The approval of the RP-Japan Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, previously barred by anti-imperialist opposition in the Senate, paved the way for the second Japanese invasion of the Philippines, this time on the economic front.

The Marcos fascist clique also used martial rule to monopolize state power and engage in large-scale plunder of the national treasury. The dictator and his immediate family, relations and cronies, built economic empires through outright robbery not only of government resources but also of private business assets.

The Marcos dictatorship succeeded, not in bringing the nation out of crisis, but in driving it to complete ruin. The foreign debt ballooned to immense proportions, delivering the economy into the hands of foreign creditors and leaving an enormous debt service burden on the people. The strategy of export-led economic growth advocated by the IMF-WB

made the country extremely vulnerable to the vagaries of the world capitalist market and drew it further away from genuine industrialization.

Multinational incursions into agriculture and big-scale landgrabbing by both foreign and big comprador-landlord corporations devastated the livelihood of the peasantry, even the small landholders, and dislocated indigenous communities. The wanton exploitation of the country's natural resources resulted in massive destruction of the Philippine environment, including land, forest, mineral, freshwater and marine resources.

There was an overall deterioration in the economic and social conditions of the masses, as inflation raged and unemployment spread. The overwhelming majority, including substantial sections of the middle classes, fell below the poverty line. Hundreds of thousands were driven to work abroad, only to be subjected to a more intense kind of wage slavery, racial discrimination and sexual abuse.

Urban blight became a phenomenon in the nation's capital and other major urban centers with the continuing exodus of landless rural poor to the cities. Prostitution and organized crime flourished on the soil of social decay.

### **People's War**

The chronic and ever worsening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system, which meant the intolerable oppression and exploitation of the people, engendered the people's war even before the formal declaration of martial law. Upon the blatant rise of fascist tyranny, the people's armed resistance expanded and intensified.

The climate of fear and culture of silence spawned by the Marcos dictatorship gradually broke down as a broad array of oppressed classes and sectors dared to fight back and learned manifold ways to resist.

The Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front was formed in 1971, upon the initiative of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Seeking to provide a firm basis of unity for all popular forces forced underground by the martial law regime, the Preparatory Commission of the NDF issued a 10-point program on April 24, 1973, which would be acknowledged and celebrated as the founding day of the National Democratic Front. Thousands would eventually join the NDF through revolutionary mass organizations in various sectors.

Workers' strikes, student boycotts, indoor and outdoor rallies, alternative newspapers and other forms of open protest became widespread, as support for the revolutionary armed struggle and the underground rapidly grew. Of particular significance was the active participation of church people in the protest movement through open and underground activities. All paved the way for the emergence of the gigantic mass actions in the 1983-86 period.

In the countryside, the revolutionary armed struggle spearheaded by the CPP and NPA blazed like a forest fire. From the mountainous areas and remote barrios, it steadily spread down to the plains, coastal towns and even some urban areas. Hand in hand with it were vigorous peasant mass struggles which won reductions in land rent and interest rates, increased wages for farm workers and higher prices for farm products.

In the 80s, the tactical offensives of the NPA rose to a crescendo. District-size and province-size guerrilla fronts appeared. At their core were guerrilla bases where agrarian reform was implemented and organs of political power were established.

In the South, the Bangsa Moro organized their own armies and launched mass uprisings and armed rebellions against the dictatorship. The fascist regime launched attacks of genocidal proportions. The Moro armed struggle persisted.

The Cordillera peoples staunchly resisted government schemes to dislodge them from their ancestral lands. They effectively prevented the implementation of the Chico River dam project and the expansion of Cellophil. The various peoples of the Cordillera joined in building an armed force and a revolutionary front to fight for self-determination, in unity with the entire national democratic movement. A revolutionary movement also developed among other indigenous peoples, especially the lumads of Mindanao.

The rapid deterioration of socio-economic conditions, the intensified contradictions among the reactionaries and the blows of people's war from all quarters severely weakened the fascist dictatorship and forced it into blunders and desperate measures. The assassination of Ninoy Aquino on August 21, 1983 ignited a tremendous explosion of popular protest against the dictatorship. A broad anti-fascist movement came into being -- from the toiling masses of workers and peasants to the middle social strata and onward to sections of the reactionary upper classes. It triggered a split in the regime's most solid base of support, the military.

Marcos became a pariah in the international community. US policymakers were for a while divided on whether to continue full support or not for the dictatorship and then started to distance the US from its hated puppet and seek other alternatives. Ultimately, they decided to drop Marcos.

The armed and unarmed, legal and illegal struggles waged by the people reached a new level of strength. There was a combination of intensified armed offensives by NPA forces nationwide against squad- and platoon-size AFP patrols and detachments, widespread partisan operations in the urban areas and gigantic demonstrations, rallies, strikes and other mass protest actions.

The sudden plunge of the economy, the general upsurge of mass protest, the disaffection of most reactionaries and the withdrawal of US support from the Marcos regime came together in one historic conjuncture. A combined military rebellion and popular uprising finally overthrew the fascist dictatorship in February 1986.

While the EDSA revolt had a popular character, the leadership was in the hands of a combination of forces dominated by pro-US reactionaries -- the Aquino coalition of traditional politicians, the anti-Marcos sections of the fascist military, the conservative Church hierarchy and anti-Marcos big businessmen and landlords.

In the 1986 snap presidential elections, the boycott policy error had unduly sought to separate the advanced section of the masses from the main flow of the anti-fascist mass movement. More importantly, the revolutionary movement had been undermined and debilitated by the growing influence of the wrong line of military adventurism, urban insurrectionism, panic in the case of antiinfiltration campaigns in Mindanao and other places, and bureaucratism. On the whole, the people's war was still in the stage of the strategic defensive and the people's army was small and weak compared to the enemy.

The balance of forces between revolution and counterrevolution was still such that the outcome of the EDSA uprising could be decided by the U.S. and the local reactionaries. But beneath the celebration of the reactionaries over their removal of Marcos with relatively less damage, the splits within the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines further worsened. The grave crisis of the ruling system remained unsolved. And the widespread discontent of the people continued.

### **The Past Recycled**

The reactionary classes remained in power. In the face of popular demands, the ascendant US-supported Aquino ruling faction granted certain concessions such as the release of political prisoners, the restoration of formal democratic rights and the inclusion of a few civil libertarians in the government. But the reactionaries lost no time in taking away these concessions step by step.

Big comprador-landlord rule assumed a new face in the Aquino regime. It decked itself out with democratic trappings and waved the banner of reform, while preserving intact the fascist state machinery and perpetuating the essentially foreign-controlled, feudal type of traditional politics. Worn-out institutions and processes were recycled and many of the Marcosian policies and schemes were continued and even aggravated.

Just like the fascist puppet Marcos and his technocrats, Aquino and her economic advisers looked up to foreign investments and foreign loans as the principal means of economic recovery and progress. Their desperate need for foreign aid made them more slavish in following the dictates of the US-controlled IMF and World Bank. The Aquino regime committed itself to the full payment of the gargantuan foreign debt incurred by the dictator and "economic reforms" favoring foreign capital. The result was an economic crisis of unprecedented proportions, the burden of which was largely borne by the broad masses.

In a similar fashion, the Aquino government bartered national sovereignty and territorial integrity in exchange for the unqualified US support that it hoped would guarantee its survival. The Aquino government sought the retention of the US military bases and troops on Philippine soil beyond 1991, through such deceptive formulas as "gradual phase-out" and "continued US access."

Like the much-trumpeted Marcos version, the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) became a big farce. Since the beginning, it had been hobbled by the retrogressive principle of voluntary sale by landlords and by a policy of setting impossibly high prices for land purchases.

Aquino's bogus land reform was a nefarious scheme for big landlords to overprice their land and rob the state treasury through the voluntary-offer-to-sell program. It was rendered inutile by government-authorized land conversion schemes cooked up by foreign and big comprador interests to displace a great number of peasants from the lands they till. No genuine peasant organization was deceived by CARP.

The autonomy scheme for the national minorities was no different from its predecessor in that it allowed continued landgrabbing of ancestral lands and foreign plunder of the ancestral domain. In every major area in the political, economic and military spheres, it gave the "autonomous governments" no authority and powers which are not subject to existing laws, national policies and congressional approval.

"Ceasefire talks" were held between the Aquino regime and the NDF. The Aquino regime refused to negotiate a genuine political settlement of the armed conflict, but was merely interested in looking for an excuse to unleash all-out war against the revolutionary forces. When the "ceasefire talks" collapsed, the Aquino regime proceeded to launch the biggest, most comprehensive and most brutal counter-insurgency campaign in post-war history. As a result, its record of human rights violations surpassed that of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The "total war" policy against the revolutionary forces and people was ferociously carried out. The low-intensity conflict strategy of the US was applied. Fascist terror and militarization continued and intensified in both city and countryside, resulting in the dislocation of thousands of peasants and indigenous peoples.

Human rights violations became more rampant in six years of Aquino rule than in fourteen years of martial rule under Marcos. The democratic space credited by the bourgeois populists and other reformists to the Aquino regime and not to the revolutionary disappeared.

With every coup attempt by ultra-rightists, the Aquino government became ever more dependent for its survival on the fascist AFP. The Ramos military faction became more powerful in political decision-making. The inability to assert civilian supremacy over the military led to an undeclared state of martial law -- as exemplified by the continuance of

nonbailable charges of political offense and the reinstatement of "warrantless arrests" reminiscent of Marcos' PCO (Presidential Commitment Order) and PDA (Preventive Detention Action).

The US government continued to decisively influence political, economic and military decision-making processes in the country through a network of politicians, bureaucrats and military officials. It was the principal author of the total war scheme, in charge of funding, equipment, training, intelligence and other requirements.

US imperialism engaged in more and more direct intervention, as the puppet regime increasingly failed to put its act together. It took advantage of its long-held dominance in Philippine affairs, the desperate economic situation of the country, and the deep internal divisions within the bureaucracy and military to realize its strategic as well as tactical objectives in the Philippines.

Though at first riding on the wave of popular rejection of the Marcos fascist regime, the Aquino regime soon became isolated by its anti-national and anti-democratic policies. It set as its strategic goal the destruction of the revolutionary movement but failed. Instead, the objective conditions for the people's war became more favorable than ever before.

### **The US-Ramos Regime**

The rise of the Ramos ruling clique is symptomatic of the ceaseless tendency of the semicolonial and semifeudal society to stagnate, deteriorate and disintegrate.

Here is the West Point-trained chief butcher of the Marcos and Aquino regimes becoming his own president. He has assumed the position of president by garnering only 23.5 percent of the votes cast, after using the facilities of the reactionary government and spending a high amount of money from US, Japanese, Taiwanese and other foreign monopoly capitalists.

The pluralism or multipolarization of ruling class politics into more than two parties since the downfall of the Marcos regime has produced a president of the blatant anti-national and anti-democratic character of Ramos. At the same time, the regime has brought together some of the worst elements of the Marcos regime to be at the top of the political system.

The main objective of the current regime is to pursue the brutal total war policy, defeat the ongoing national democratic revolution and people and keep unchallenged the intolerable oppression and exploitation that the people are suffering from.

Complementary with the military campaign of suppression are the psywar tactics of the regime to misrepresent itself as a seeker of peace, mislead the people, isolate the revolutionary forces and induce the revolutionary movement to split and capitulate.

The main premise of the regime's current economic policy and its "Philippines 2000" is the pacification of the revolutionary forces and the people by brute force and the suppression of the democratic rights of workers and peasants. It is also maneuvering to perpetuate itself in power as Marcos did in the name of "constitutional reform", "counterinsurgency" and "economic development".

The anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the US-Ramos regime are aggravating the crisis of the ruling system and exacerbating the oppression and exploitation of the people.

Therefore, the people have no recourse but to carry out the national democratic revolution through people's war until total victory is won and the socialist revolution and industrialization can commence.

The domestic crisis of the ruling system and the crisis of the world capitalist system provide the objective conditions for the growth in strength and advance of the people's revolutionary movement.

### **Crisis Of A Disintegrating Order**

The succession of the Aquino and Ramos regimes to the Marcos regime has given the country no relief from the political and economic crisis and has only increased the crushing weight of suffering and hardship on the people.

The economy lies prostrate, completely under the dictation of the US-controlled IMF-WB and foreign banks and with no hope of recovery. The country sinks ever deeper into the debt quagmire. Its productive wealth is being siphoned off through enormous debt service payments and the unrestricted capital repatriation of multinational companies. The deficits in the balance-of-trade and government budget are unequalled in history.

Double digit inflation has ravaged the lives of the people. Impoverishment and unemployment are cutting a wide swath, throwing bigger sections of the middle social strata into the state of destitution which is the daily lot of the masses of workers, peasants and all urban and rural poor.

The deepening of the Philippine crisis and the new dimensions it has assumed have made revolutionary struggle and radical social transformation all the more imperative and has created exceedingly favorable conditions for waging the national democratic revolution.

The unjust and oppressive rule of US imperialism and the big comprador-landlord class is being weakened by the internecine conflicts of the reactionary forces and by the persevering and sustained revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people.

The house of the ruling classes is in disarray, wracked by internal strife among rival reactionary factions within and outside the deeply divided military. There is no faction --

whether political, military or a combination of both -- strong enough to wield a consensus and govern effectively. This crisis of governance has resulted in a steady erosion of the strength of the neocolonial state apparatus and varying degrees of paralysis in its different parts.

Increasing factionalism and rampant corruption, especially at the highest levels, are rapidly demoralizing the rank-and-file and the officers' corps of the armed forces. The deterioration of the "professional army" is such that whole commands and ranking officers have become involved in big-time criminal syndicates and activities.

US imperialism finds it more and more difficult to realize its counter-revolutionary agenda in Philippine society. Its own global economic power has constricted its own ground by throwing neocolonies to penury and indebtedness. The US is being weakened by deficits due to overconsumption and by military overspending and adventures in other parts of the world. Within the Asia-Pacific region, US and Japanese monopoly capitalism are still collaborating in exploiting the people. But they are also competing against each other.

Within the country, a broad national awakening is agitating the broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, to take the road of armed revolution. Even the middle social strata are increasingly critical of and opposed to the dominance of the US and its retinue of big compradors and landlords.

### **Historic Leap**

The basic class contradictions are sharpening. High on the agenda of the nation -- and around which conflicting classes and forces are bound to collide intensely -- are such basic issues as real national independence and subservience, agrarian reform, economic impositions of imperialist banks and governments, fascism and democracy, and civil war and peace. The question of self-determination of the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and the indigenous peoples also cries out for urgent resolution.

Popular discontent with the rule of the exploiting classes and the powerful anti-imperialist ferment are spreading through the entire fabric of Philippine society. Wider and wider sections of the people clamor for radical and comprehensive change. The outbreaks of mass protest are becoming more frequent, organized, militant and widespread -- taking the form of strikes by the working class and sectors of the intelligentsia, peasant struggles for lower land rents and interest rates, and big rallies and marches by different classes and sectors. All these reflect the higher level of anti-imperialist and democratic consciousness and militancy of the people.

Progressive currents are sweeping through the middle social strata and moving them to advocate fundamental change and gravitate towards more radical and revolutionary approaches and forms of action. More and more leaders and influential members of the churches, media, academe, business and government itself are coming forward to espouse

anti-imperialist and democratic demands and support mass struggles. A broader and higher unity of patriotic and democratic forces is rapidly taking shape.

Firmly raising the banner of national democracy, the revolutionary forces have been in the forefront of the people's struggles and have persevered in people's war in the face of the depredations of the total war policy. Despite the full weight of the armed counter-revolution and despite the difficulties, limitations and setbacks it has had to overcome, the revolutionary movement has continued to win significant victories. It is now engaged in a rectification movement to correct serious deviations, errors and weaknesses. Its main objective is to overcome the damage and disorientations, further strengthen the revolutionary forces, and bring back the revolution to the correct and solid path of advance.

Given all these, any attempt by any reactionary faction to reimpose open fascist rule or escalate armed terror against the people in the futile attempt to arrest the revolutionary momentum is bound to sharpen national and class antagonism as well as widen the rifts within the ruling classes.

The current strength of the revolutionary forces is bound to rise to a new and higher level. The people are determined to fight for national and social emancipation. The crisis is goading them to fight for their national and democratic rights. No matter what US imperialism and its puppets do, they cannot in the long run prevent the overthrow of the unjust and bankrupt ruling order.

## **PART II**

### **THE TWELVE POINTS OF THE NDF PROGRAM**

The National Democratic Front is committed to the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for the completion of the national democratic revolution through people's war. This national democratic revolution is of a new type because it is led by the working class and has a socialist perspective.

The NDF seeks to promote the unity, cooperation and coordination of all patriotic and progressive classes, sectors and forces in order to fight for national liberation and democracy and overthrow the oppressive and exploitative ruling system.

In promoting national unity, the NDF pursues the revolutionary class line in the united front. This requires the activation and strengthening of the working class leadership, the basic worker-peasant alliance, the basic forces of the revolution which include the urban petty bourgeoisie and the positive forces of the revolution.

At the moment, the NDF is the formal united front of the organizations of the basic forces of the revolution, i.e., working class, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie.

The allied organizations within the NDF make agreements among themselves according to the principle of consultations and consensus. They enjoy independence and initiative, with due respect to such relations as may obtain between any of them. In this regard, the New People's Army is under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The principal way to strengthen the NDF is for all the allied organizations within the NDF fold to strengthen themselves through mass work in their respective spheres. Consequently, the consultative conferences and leading councils of the NDF can have powerful support at various levels. Further on, the leading councils can form staff committees through the executive committees in order to perform important work.

The NDF is ever ready and willing to cooperate with all patriotic and progressive forces and individuals that are outside of the NDF in order to broaden and strengthen national unity and advance the national democratic revolution.

The most important responsibilities of the NDF include the promotion of national unity for the revolutionary struggle within and beyond the current composition of the NDF, representations and pronouncements on behalf of the revolutionary forces upon their authorization and paving the way for and supporting the organs of the people's democratic government at various levels.

The National Democratic Front hereby declares its 12-point Program. We offer it to the Filipino people, to be their guide and rallying point, as they fight for an independent, democratic, just, prosperous and progressive future.

## **1. UNITE THE PEOPLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE SEMICOLONIAL AND SEMIFEUDAL SYSTEM THROUGH A PEOPLE'S WAR AND FOR THE COMPLETION OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.**

The NDF seeks to unite the people for the overthrow of the semicolonial and semifeudal system through people's war and for the completion of the national democratic revolution.

Only the power of a united people achieved through revolutionary armed struggle and the united front of revolutionary forces can isolate and destroy the dominance of the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists and the counterrevolutionary state of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class.

The national democratic revolution that we seek to complete is of the new type. It is led by the working class and has a socialist perspective. Upon the seizure of political power, the new democratic revolution is basically completed and the socialist revolution can commence.

National unity in the revolution can arise and develop only when there is a definite class leadership, responds to the basic demands of the broad masses of the people and builds a united front that harmonizes their national and democratic rights and interests.

The united front of various patriotic and progressive classes, sectors and forces is the way to build national unity. Its main force is the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry (including the farm workers and fisherfolk), which are more than ninety percent of the people and are the most oppressed and exploited.

In this regard, we make special reference to the broad masses of the Bangsa Moro, Cordillera and other minority and indigenous peoples as among the most oppressed and exploited in the country.

The urban petty bourgeoisie must be won over to the revolution. It is one of the basic forces of the revolution, together with the working class and peasantry. Further, the national bourgeoisie must be won over. It is one of the positive forces of the revolution, together with the aforementioned classes.

In carrying out the united front policy, it is necessary not only to build the unity of the revolutionary forces but also to take advantage of the contradictions within the reactionary classes. Thus, it becomes possible to develop the widest range of forces to isolate and destroy the power of the faction that is most reactionary and most servile to the imperialists at every given time.

In fighting any series of the most reactionary factions and their imperialist masters, the revolutionary forces strengthen their unity with the people and accumulate the strength to overthrow the entire ruling system.

The National Democratic Front is the instrument for building the national united front of all patriotic and progressive forces. At the present stage, however, it includes within its fold organizations of the basic forces of the revolution, i.e., the working class, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie.

It is the policy of the NDF to cooperate and coordinate with all the patriotic and progressive forces that are not within its fold as a formal alliance. It is also the hope of the NDF that upon the development of the organs of political power at levels higher than the village level these forces will decide to join the NDF and the people's consultative conferences.

The NDF supports all forms of revolutionary struggle, legal and illegal, aboveground and underground. But the NDF is a distinctive united front organization in that it is clearly for revolutionary armed struggle.

As a matter of principle, the NDF is of the stand that the armed struggle is the main form of revolutionary struggle because it smashes the bureaucratic and military machinery of

the reactionary state and makes possible the emergence and development of the revolutionary organs of democratic power. Without the seizure of political power, the national and social liberation of the people is impossible.

The legal forms of struggle are important and indispensable. These can be skillfully used to expose and oppose the reactionary state and even spread the revolutionary message to millions upon millions of the people. But these are within the constraints of the reactionary state and these by themselves cannot dismantle or change the fundamental character of the reactionary state.

The NDF supports the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating armed strength until it becomes possible to seize political power in the cities and on a nationwide scale.

The people's war is the way to forge the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. It integrates the armed struggle, land reform and mass base building. It realizes the main substance of the democratic revolution, which is land reform as a way for emancipating the peasantry politically and economically.

In conducting the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside, the revolutionary party of the working class relies mainly on the poor peasants, together with the farm workers and poor fisherfolk, wins over the middle peasants, neutralizes the rich peasants and take advantage of contradictions among the landlords in the period of minimum land reform in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlord class. This anti-feudal line is within the larger framework of the national united front which is both anti-imperialist and anti- feudal.

The NDF is of the view that the revolutionary armed struggle cannot advance without the development of the legal democratic movement. These two forms of struggle must be coordinated, expanded and intensified by applying the united front policy in both forms of struggle.

Through the application of the united front policy, not only definite organized forces join the revolutionary movement but millions upon millions of people are reached and influenced to organize themselves and participate in the revolution.

The NDF must be vigilant towards those agents provocateur who wish to combine parliamentarism with insurrectionism through actions that make the most advanced forces appear as isolated aggressors and expose them to enemy surveillance and retaliation. The character of the democratic movement based in the urban areas is legal and defensive.

The NDF must also be vigilant towards those who likewise play into the hands of the enemy by adopting the purely military viewpoint, regarding the armed struggle as a competition of absolutely concentrated military formations and treating the masses as political only when they are spontaneous or unorganized.

The national democratic revolution must be won through the people's war in stages. If this revolution is not to be betrayed again by the bourgeoisie through the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat through its vanguard party must definitely lead the armed struggle and the united front.

## **2. ESTABLISH A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND A DEMOCRATIC COALITION GOVERNMENT.**

Local organs of people's democratic power have been established and continue to expand throughout the country. These are the beginnings of the new government which the NDF envisions. The NDF supports the establishment and consolidation of these organs of political power and paves the way for the formation of the people's democratic government at various levels.

In the period approaching total victory of the national democratic revolution, a provisional revolutionary government may be set up by the working class party as the ruling party.

In this connection, a people's consultative conference may be convened, with the NDF acting as one of the major convenors. This would be a conference of representatives of all allied patriotic and progressive classes and sectors, including the Bangsa Moro, Cordillera, Lumads and other minority peoples. This conference shall form the people's consultative council to prepare for the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

The people's consultative conference shall broaden the base and character of the people's democratic government. The People's Consultative Council, representing the conference, shall support the working class party in organizing the new government.

Upon the victory of the national democratic revolution, a people's democratic republic will be established and proclaimed. State power is seized from the big comprador-landlord rulers and secured by the democratic classes, especially the workers and peasants led by the working class.

The new government shall take the form of a democratic coalition government which promotes and translates into reality the people's will and interests. Within this government, autonomy will be assured for the Bangsa Moro, Cordillera peoples, Lumads and other indigenous peoples.

With the support of the people's consultative council, the new government under the leadership of the working class shall ensure that the transition to peaceful conditions is smooth and orderly and that the wounds of war are healed as soon as possible.

It shall adopt measures to ensure that all productive enterprises immediately resume and expand their production. Civil service personnel of the overthrown government -- except those accused of serious crimes -- will be urged to continue manning their posts and serving the public.

The new government shall initiate thoroughgoing democratic reforms and unify and mobilize all the forces against those who continue to resist. At various levels, the people's consultative conferences and councils shall support the organs of democratic power.

All patriotic and progressive classes, political parties, groups, and the entire people shall participate in the affairs of the state and in decision-making processes. The working class party leading the government shall enjoy multiparty support. Bourgeois pluralism shall not be allowed to undermine, weaken or destroy the people's democratic state.

The new government shall institute a fair and equitable system of justice. Judicial procedures will ensure a fair hearing by an impartial tribunal at all levels of government. The right to due process shall be upheld.

The people's courts shall try those accused of grave crimes against the people (especially human rights violations and corruption) and punish those who have been found guilty of such crimes. It will have the power to confiscate properties and ill gotten wealth amassed by the traitors, bureaucrat capitalists, big compradors and landlords.

Severe punishment shall be meted out to those found guilty of the most serious offenses. Those who deserve leniency shall be given political education and, as soon as possible, be given opportunities to become productive members of society under the new dispensation.

In accordance with the social revolution, the political and economic rights of members of the exploiting classes shall be restricted in order to prevent them from undermining the new social system and recovering their political and economic power over the working people.

Soon after total victory, the new government shall hold the election of a constituent assembly that shall draft the constitution of the PDR. After ratification of the Constitution, general elections shall be held.

In its Constitution and practice, the People's Democratic Republic shall have the character of a republic that is a united front of all democratic classes, founded on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class. All power of the PDR resides in the people, who have the sovereign power to elect their officials and to recall them from office.

There shall be a bill of rights, guaranteeing the basic freedoms to the people and surpassing the bourgeois liberal constitution by prohibiting the oppression and

exploitation of the people by the imperialists and the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords.

While providing the conditions in which believers and non-believers can work together in building a free and democratic society, the new government shall adhere to the policy of separation of Church and state.

The people exercise state power through the system of people's congresses at various levels, the highest being the National People's Congress. The system of people's congresses shall adopt a system of genuine universal and equal suffrage, irrespective of nationality, race, sex, creed, party affiliation, or education. This system gives full expression to democracy with full powers vested in the people's congresses at all levels.

There shall be a centralized system of administration but there shall be at the same time the decentralization of functions that are better performed by lower levels of government. The central leadership of the government shall base itself upon and interact with the lower levels of government in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

### **3. BUILD THE PEOPLE'S ARMY AND A PEOPLE'S DEFENSE SYSTEM.**

The New People's Army is necessary in order to bring about and guarantee the national and social liberation of the people. It is the main instrument of the entire Filipino people for destroying the reactionary state and establishing a government that will truly serve the interests of the people.

The NPA has been able to grow in strength and extend its areas of operation because it enjoys the full support of the masses. It has gained the trust and confidence of the masses because it upholds their national and democratic interests, promotes agrarian revolution and helps them establish local organs of political power.

The NPA not only upholds democratic principles in its relations with the masses but also practices democracy within its ranks. Thus there is unity between the army and the people and between officers and men on the basis of revolutionary principles and democratic processes.

Guided by revolutionary principles and by its own strict code of conduct and discipline, the NPA has always strived to avoid the loss of civilian lives and damage to their property during its military operations. It has also dealt with enemy prisoners in a humane manner and treated the enemy wounded to the extent possible.

The NDF welcomes international norms and guidelines, and adheres to the provisions of Protocol II of the Geneva Conventions, as well as other humanitarian laws whose aim is to protect non-combatants. In the course of the ongoing civil war in the Philippines, the NDF is seeking the diplomatic recognition of the status of belligerency.

Upon the attainment of victory, the NPA shall be under a ministry of national defense and shall have ground, naval and air forces. There shall also be police forces and a people's militia under a ministry of public security.

The basic tasks of the revolutionary army are to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and to defend the gains of the revolution and the Filipino people from internal subversion and external aggression. To this end, the revolutionary army as well as the people shall constantly be in a state of vigilance and readiness to repel any act of intervention and aggression from foreign forces.

The people will play the key role in defending the gains of the revolution. With their revolutionary consciousness and militance, they will be the surest guarantee against internal subversion and external aggression. Thus there will be no need to maintain a huge standing army.

The national police force shall be drawn from the local police and militia forces that have defended and protected the people in the course of the revolutionary war. Militia units shall be improved where they have already been formed in the course of people's war and shall be formed in places where they do not yet exist. Special consideration shall be made in the areas of the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples.

With the time-tested revolutionaries firmly in command of the people's army, former enemy officers and men who have joined the revolutionary cause before total victory or who have not committed any serious crime shall be allowed to stay in the military service on a selective basis and shall pass on their knowledge and expertise to the revolutionary fighters and shall themselves undergo revolutionary education.

Aside from its military function, the people's army shall perform tasks in other spheres, such as production, environmental renewal and relief work in times of disaster. It shall be a revolutionary school for its permanent members and for the youth who shall be required to render military training service for a certain reasonable period of time.

#### **4. UPHOLD AND PROMOTE THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS**

The Filipino people's struggle for democratic rights has been waged together with their struggle for national liberation. The Malolos Constitution of 1899, which crystallized the aspirations of a free Philippine nation, included a bill of rights which guaranteed civil liberties to the people.

When US imperialism destroyed the first Philippine republic, the people's democratic rights were suppressed. In resuming the fight for independence, the people raised the demand for democracy in terms of land reform and civil liberties. The puppet Commonwealth regime never carried out genuine land reform and allowed the exercise of civil liberties but only within the confines of ruling class politics and working for the US grant of independence.

A bill of rights was incorporated into the 1935 constitution but the exercise of democratic rights was basically denied to the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Not only the Marcos fascist dictatorship but all other regimes under the puppet republic have made false promises about land reform and made a mockery of the bill of rights.

It was during the struggle against the fascist dictatorship though that the struggle for democratic rights gained more profound meaning and scope, drawing strength from our people's militant and heroic struggles against landlordism and the wanton violations of civil and political liberties.

Subjected to the powerful popular pressure for democracy, the Aquino regime framed a constitution which gave formal recognition to a bill of rights which is more extensive than that provided in any previous Philippine constitution.

But the exercise of democratic rights were negated by the continuing national and class oppression. The fascist structures built under the Marcos dictatorship were maintained. The total war policy of the Aquino regime resulted in widespread gross violations of human rights, even surpassing the record of the dictatorship in many areas. Now, we are confronted with a regime whose chieftain has been responsible for these violations since the time of Marcos.

History's lesson is clear. The fundamental individual freedoms as well as the expanded human rights in the political, social and economic spheres can only be realized and can only flower under a condition of national freedom and class freedom for the oppressed classes. These freedoms will only thrive so long as a vigilant people is ready and willing to fight and die for them.

Upon the establishment of the people's democratic republic, the democratic rights of the people, especially those most oppressed, shall be promoted, expanded and guaranteed. The main substance of democracy shall be realized through genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. The freedoms of the people shall be guaranteed by a democratic bill of rights and by the actual national and social liberation of the people.

The basic democratic rights include the fundamental rights to free speech and free press; to freedom of thought and expression; to freedom of religious belief and practice; to free choice of domicile and movement. They also include the right to free association and assembly; to strike; to universal suffrage through secret ballot.

The people will have the right to due process; protection against arbitrary arrest; guarantees against torture, solitary confinement and other inhuman forms of detention and punishment; right against self-incrimination and right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty; right to equal protection of the law and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

The new government shall guarantee the right to universal and free education, delivery of basic services, including health care.

Effective guarantees in the constitution and other political and institutional mechanisms shall be adopted to prevent the resurgence of autocracy, tyranny, military rule and other anti-people regimes. The people's right to revolt against an oppressive and tyrannical regime shall be recognized.

The government shall guarantee the right to own the means of production and consumption that are obtained through land reform, honest labor and entrepreneurship, skill, inventiveness and intellectual merit. The right to intellectual property shall also be guaranteed. The right to own the means of production carries with it the social responsibility of using such ownership for the common good and should not mean the unbridled exploitation of other people.

There shall be full employment. The people shall be assured of gainful employment, livelihood and job security. No one shall be denied the right to work and equal pay because of discrimination due to nationality, creed, minority status, gender or sexual preference, or civil status. The new government shall guarantee the preferential right of the workers to form unions and participate in the management of enterprises.

Academic freedom shall be guaranteed. Cultural workers, in particular, will be assured of the freedom of expression.

The rights of the Bangsa Moro, Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples to their ancestral lands and the natural resources in these lands shall be recognized and guaranteed. The indigenous peoples shall be assured of participation and representation in the economic, political and social life and institutions of the nation, and their culture shall be accorded due respect.

The new government shall recognize and protect women's rights in all fields of endeavor. All laws that discriminate against women and minority peoples shall be repealed.

## **5. TERMINATE ALL UNEQUAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER FOREIGN ENTITIES.**

The United States and other foreign monopoly interests have long used various laws, treaties and agreements to violate the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Philippines and to interfere in the country's internal affairs.

The subservient investment laws and onerous loan agreements and such unequal agreements as the US-RP Military Assistance Agreement, the US-RP Mutual Defense Agreement, the Quirino-Foster Agreement and the RP-Japan Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation shall be terminated. New treaties, agreements and arrangements -- based

on the principles of mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's affairs -- shall be negotiated.

As a rule, direct investments and profit-making assets of the US, Japan and other big foreign capitalists, especially those in the vital and strategic industries, shall be nationalized.

Where necessary, the manner of compensation as well as any exemptions to this policy shall be the subject of negotiations, based on the national interest. However, those enterprises that have been actively used for counter-revolutionary purposes shall be confiscated outright.

Foreign loans that overburden and sabotage the Philippine economy, deepen the country's underdevelopment and direct local resources into unproductive channels shall be canceled or renegotiated, when possible, to do away with their obnoxious features and arrive at terms beneficial to the country.

The US military bases have been dismantled but US military forces retain access to military facilities and to the Philippines territory. The new government shall prohibit this access.

The reactionary armed forces continue to be dependent on US strategic planning, officer training, supplies and so on. The new government shall never allow the people's army to be dependent on or subservient to any foreign power.

No foreign power shall be allowed to set up military bases on Philippine soil or operate militarily from Philippine territory. The transit through and entry of military nuclear-powered vessels into the country or the emplacement of nuclear weapons within the national territory shall be strictly prohibited.

The democratic republic shall oppose all forms of foreign intervention and interference in the country's internal affairs. #

**6. IMPLEMENT GENUINE AGRARIAN REFORM, PROMOTE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION, RAISE RURAL PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT THROUGH MODERNIZATION OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ENSURE AGRICULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY.**

The current minimum land reform program involves the reduction of land rent and abolition of usury, and the setting up of mutual aid and labor exchange systems among the peasantry. In this connection, the wages of farm workers and the prices of agricultural products at the farm gate have also been improved.

For the past 20 years, the revolutionary movement has carried out this minimum program in ever-widening areas in the countryside. Even at this stage, far-reaching economic, political and social changes are being effected, including a substantial improvement in the livelihood of the peasantry.

The growth of the revolution has also made it possible in certain areas for land to be confiscated from despotic landlords and landgrabbers and redistributed to peasants, for unjust debts to be condoned, for some peasant cooperatives to be organized, and for appropriate technologies to be introduced.

After nationwide victory of the revolution, it shall be possible to carry out the maximum land reform program, which involves the confiscation of landlord property and the equitable distribution of the land to the landless tillers at no cost to them.

Comprehensive agrarian reform shall be completed under the people's democratic republic for all arable land, aquaculture, livestock and grazing lands with due consideration to ancestral lands of the Bangsa Moro and indigenous peoples.

Beneficiaries of land reform and other owner-cultivators shall be given support services and incentives to increase production and incomes in agriculture and side occupations.

Agricultural cooperation shall be vigorously promoted and shall run ahead of mechanization. The process of cooperativization and mechanization shall be accomplished in stages and in connection with the development of industry.

Rich peasants shall be allowed to retain their land. They will, however, have to rely on their own labor power rather than on hired labor.

Landlords who do not oppose land reform and cooperate with the people's democratic government shall be given adequate means of livelihood so their families can have a decent life.

Modern plantations owned and controlled by transnationals or their business allies among the big comprador landlords shall be taken over by the state. These capital-intensive and large-scale farms shall be run by the state or cooperatives of agricultural workers.

Capitalist farm-owners who have supported the revolution shall be allowed to work with the state to raise agricultural production and modernize agriculture. However, farm workers in these enterprises shall form unions, participate in management and be assured of improved working and living conditions and a just share in the surplus generated.

Major refining, processing and marketing of agricultural products shall be undertaken by the state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives in accordance with the type of crop, its relative importance to the national economy and the people's livelihood, other factors specific to the product, and capabilities of the sector concerned.

While local processing and marketing of a wide variety of agricultural products by individual households shall be encouraged, no enterprise shall be allowed to exploit the peasants and farm workers, engage in hoarding, or impose monopolistic prices.

Production of farm equipment and tools, seed varieties, fertilizers, pesticides, and other agricultural inputs, and consumer products suited to local conditions shall be promoted. Industry shall be required to serve the producer and consumer needs of the working people, mainly the peasant masses.

Support services such as technical assistance, irrigation and distribution of water resources, credit, marketing and storage facilities shall be provided. The state shall rely on the cooperation of the peasant organizations and cooperatives.

Livestock production, fishing and aquaculture shall be developed and their producers, especially the small ones, shall be encouraged to form cooperatives or associations and given state assistance.

The depletion, pollution and destruction of marine resources, especially by transnational firms and foreign fishing fleets shall be stopped. These resources shall be protected, rehabilitated and developed to benefit Filipino fisherfolk in particular and the people in general.

Programs to raise productivity and improve agricultural management and technology shall be instituted. These include research on and development of appropriate agricultural technologies and crop diversification.

Ecologically sound farming practices shall be promoted to ensure that agricultural production will be sustainable.

Agricultural development programs and appropriate technologies to be adopted shall give due recognition to conditions of rural women and shall enhance their capabilities in agricultural production as well as lessen the burden of household work.

Agriculture shall become the base of the economy, providing food and other necessities to the people as well as raw materials for industry.

With increased incomes from agricultural and non-agricultural activities, rural communities will provide an expanding market for goods produced by domestic industry.

The state plan for rural industrialization shall utilize the expansion of rural markets and agricultural modernization to increase manufacturing activities in the rural areas and create greater employment opportunities there.

## **7. BREAK THE US-BIG COMPRADOR-LANDLORD DOMINANCE OVER THE ECONOMY, CARRY OUT NATIONAL INDUSTRIALIZATION AND BUILD AN INDEPENDENT AND SELF-RELIANT ECONOMY.**

In the course of the new democratic revolution, prior to the nationwide seizure of political power, the revolutionary forces shall advocate national industrialization and shall take concrete measures to support the production and distribution of goods by Filipinos.

These measures involve creating favorable conditions for the Filipino entrepreneurs as well as unfavorable conditions for the foreign monopoly capitalists.

Immediately after the nationwide seizure of political power, the revolutionary state shall nationalize the capital and landed assets of the foreign monopoly capitalists, the bureaucrat capitalists, the big compradors and landlords.

The state shall take the commanding heights of the economy by owning and running on behalf of the entire people the vital and strategic enterprises, the main sources of raw materials and the main lines of distribution.

The public sector of the economy shall also include the agricultural and industrial cooperatives. There shall also be joint state-private enterprises. At the same time, there shall be concessions given to national capitalists and other smaller private owners of the means of production. In a manner of speaking, there shall be a mixed economy but this shall not mean the negation of the socialist transformation of the economy.

The people's democratic republic shall build an independent and self-reliant economy led by a program of national industrialization and based on an agriculture that has undergone land reform.

National industrialization shall break up the present colonial pattern of investments, production and trade based mainly on the export of agricultural and extractive raw materials, the importation of finished goods and capital, and the re-export of reassembled or repackaged imported manufactures.

The development of agriculture will make available a large amount of agricultural surplus, which used to be appropriated by a parasitic landlord class, to support the needs of industry. Agricultural growth will provide the food and raw material requirements of industry, increase the purchasing power of the rural population and thus expand the domestic market for consumer and producer goods.

Under the people's democratic republic, raw materials such as logs, coconuts, sugar, metal ores and the like shall be processed locally. These primary products will undergo processing domestically.

Through planning, the state shall ensure the balanced and well- proportioned development of heavy industry as the leading factor, agriculture as the base of the economy and light industry as the bridging factor which produces immediately basic consumer goods for the entire people and the producer goods needed by agriculture.

The state shall build basic and heavy industries producing base metals, basic chemicals, energy, petrochemicals, capital equipment and precision instruments. The development of these industries shall be programmed in accordance with the availability of resources and shall be at a rate that does not exploit the people, especially the peasant masses.

Light industries in the following areas shall be given priority: food, beverage and dairy industries; aquaculture and fisheries; textile and garment industries; housing; agricultural equipment; water and sanitation systems; chemical and pharmaceutical industries; electronics and telecommunications; and shipping, railway and other transport systems.

Monetary and fiscal policies shall be adopted to ensure the effective utilization of domestic savings and scarce foreign exchange for national industrialization, and agricultural cooperativization and mechanization.

The imperialist-controlled IMF and similar institutions shall not be allowed to dictate any economic policy. No foreign loans inimical to national interest and economic development shall be incurred.

The revenues of the state shall come mainly from the state enterprises, joint state-private enterprises and cooperatives. There shall be a progressive system of taxation applied on the private enterprises.

The state shall adhere to the strict policy of not engaging in unnecessary and unproductive projects. It shall maintain only an appropriate size of armed forces, supported by an active and dependable people's militia and by the youth in military training, in order to safeguard and defend the state and the nation.

Trade and other forms of economic relations with all countries shall be promoted on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The state, whenever possible, shall engage in barter or counter- trade with such countries as are willing and able to do so.

Foreign investments and loans shall be availed if these provide the country with the least costly access to needed technology, products and markets as defined by specific economic plans. These should not lead to a chain of "reforms" which take the country off the road of socialism and restore the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie.

High premium shall be given to the development of the country's capabilities in science and technology. Towards this end, an appropriate amount of the national budget shall be allocated to scientific and technological research programs. These will be aimed at building up the country's science and technology infrastructure: research and development in the basic and applied sciences; upgrading existing indigenous technologies; adapting

technology advances in other countries and ensuring an adequate supply of skilled and competent scientific and technical human resources.

The state shall facilitate the access of economic enterprises to findings of scientific and technological research in order to translate these into greater opportunities for economic development, employment and higher incomes as well as for the general well-being of the people. The state shall stimulate the active participation of productive enterprises and people's organizations in science and technology development.

The state shall pursue a comprehensive and balanced national policy for the country's natural resources and their all-round exploration, conservation and development. A healthy natural environment must be secured and improved.

National industrialization shall be pursued with due regard to the protection and efficient utilization of the country's renewable and non-renewable resource base. The state shall implement a policy of environmental protection, pollution control and sustainable development.

Economic planning shall be instituted to prevent destructive imbalances in the economy and to promote well-balanced growth among heavy industry, light industry and agriculture, and between capital accumulation and consumption.

A proper mix between centralized, regional and local development shall be maintained so that the benefits of economic progress may be spread out geographically.

Economic planning under the people's democratic republic shall ensure the active participation of all democratic classes at various levels and shall take into account the domestic resource and technology base as well as the operations of the market.

In the management of enterprises, there must be the participation of the cadres, workers and experts. At the same time, the cadres and experts must participate in work among the workers.

Cognizant of the key role played by human resources in building the economy, the new state shall promote the full development of the country's human resources and discard the policy of exporting labor. Overseas Filipinos shall be encouraged to return to their motherland and contribute their knowledge, skills and resources to the speedy reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country.

With its rich and abundant natural resources and a large industrious and educated population, the country shall achieve economic and social progress once the fetters of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are completely broken.

## **8. ADOPT A COMPREHENSIVE AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL POLICY.**

Government neglect in the delivery of basic services to the people is most keenly felt by the masses, especially those in depressed areas in urban centers and in the countryside.

At present, some of the basic services needed by the people are being provided by the revolutionary forces in the guerrilla fronts through campaigns and programs such as those in literacy, health care, and productive activities.

It is anticipated that inflation, upon the overthrow of the reactionary government, scarcities of some goods, production breakdowns, speculation and other ills that attend the decline and final collapse of the puppet regime will be carried over into the early years of the new government.

The new government shall take swift and decisive steps to control and solve these problems by judicious use of political power and by reviving production and the delivery of social services as soon as possible as the new state passes through a period of reconstruction and rehabilitation. The full recovery and subsequent development of the economy would provide the conditions for the full implementation of the policies of the new government regarding the delivery of social services.

The new government's social policy will aim to redistribute the benefits of economic growth with priority given to the toiling masses of workers and peasants. It shall promote social justice and enhance the dignity and quality of life of the people. Social services shall become an integral part of the long-term economic and social development of the nation.

Trade unions shall function to safeguard workers' rights, improve working and living conditions and push measures of general welfare. They shall be encouraged to develop among their members the capacity to participate in the management of the enterprise they work in.

The new government shall take the lead in providing social services. It shall mobilize people's organizations and agencies, private and church institutions, firms and individuals in the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation and the delivery of social services. The social services system shall promote self-reliance and people's participation.

The new health care system shall emphasize preventive services for the people. Special attention shall be given primary health care, strengthening full participation in people-based programs which are effectively linked to hospitals and other medical support systems. Effective and appropriate medical technology as well as an integrated health infrastructure, especially in rural areas, will be developed and promoted. The new state shall promote the utilization and development of both traditional and modern medicine for the benefit of the people.

It shall take steps in rationalizing the production, distribution and development of health personnel geared to the country's needs and not to the foreign market as well as to redressing the imbalances between health services in the urban and rural areas. Health sciences education shall be geared towards developing competent and socially-oriented health personnel.

Policy planning and implementation will harness the people's energies and resources to establish the necessary infrastructure for such needs as nutrition, family planning, maternal and child care, day care nurseries, occupational health and safety, environmental sanitation, pollution control and disaster relief.

A national, scientific, people-oriented system of education shall be established with due consideration to individual competencies and attitudes. Universal and free education shall be made available. A national program for continuing non-formal and adult education on literacy and numeracy and appropriate skills training for production shall also be drawn up.

Comprehensive artistic and sports and recreation programs shall also be undertaken to develop the people's well-being. These shall be extended to the basic levels of our society to give the people ample opportunities for their all-rounded physical and mental development, wholesome recreation and general well-being.

The new government shall evolve a comprehensive program for urban renewal. Its main components will include a mass-based housing program, adequate public services such as electricity, safe water supply and sanitary household disposal systems, recreation facilities, efficient mass transport and communications systems and pollution control.

The problem of urban congestion will be addressed through such programs as the development of the rural economy and uplifting the social and cultural life of the population in the countryside.

The new government shall institute mechanisms to protect consumers; develop a national drug industry and other vital segments of the health care system; ban the entry of hazardous technologies and products; assure the highest standards in the practice of professions in basic services; and impose sanctions on any entity whose irresponsibility results in injury or death.

It shall also restructure the social security system towards improving support for those unemployed or incapacitated by illness, disabilities or age. Special attention shall be given to families of martyrs and veterans of the national democratic revolution. The welfare of the handicapped, the aged, orphans and children shall be given special attention.

The rights of children, especially their protection from abuse and neglect, shall be guaranteed.

Displaced people shall be encouraged to return to their places of origin or to new areas where they can be gainfully employed. Demobilized soldiers shall be given ample opportunities to work and earn decent incomes.

## **9. PROMOTE A NATIONAL AND PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE'S CULTURE.**

Centuries of foreign and feudal rule have built up a culture of subservience, blind imitation of foreign things and backward thinking, a culture which has made foreign and feudal exploitation and oppression palatable or unrecognizable.

A national democratic cultural revolution is necessary to create the consciousness that will impel the people to fight and overthrow their oppressors and in the process, give birth to a national and progressive people's culture.

Decades of waging this cultural revolution have instilled among the people a stronger sense of nationhood and purpose and imbued them with the spirit of standing up against oppression and injustice. The cultural reawakening has driven into the popular consciousness progressive and revolutionary ideas, exposing the roots of their sufferings as a nation and people and offering the vision of an independent, democratic and just society.

Progressive currents have arisen within the churches and have added moral weight and new liberating ideas to the revolutionary struggles.

In both cities and countryside, various art forms (literature, visual arts, theater arts, music, etc.) that reflect the conditions and aspirations of the people have been created by revolutionary and patriotic artists. Literacy and education programs are being carried out among various classes and sectors of society, especially the workers and peasants, to liberate them from ignorance, superstitions and the lies and half-truths propagated by the imperialists and the local ruling classes.

Once in place, the new government will further develop culture that corresponds to, and promote, the new social order. It will propagate a national, progressive and popular culture.

National because it upholds and defends the sovereignty and independence of the Filipino nation, combating colonial mentality and subservience. It expresses a distinct Filipino character and embodies the richness of the cultures of various regions and areas, as well as those of the Bangsa Moro, the peoples of the Cordillera and other indigenous peoples in the country.

Progressive because it upholds the scientific outlook and methodology, and opposes feudal thinking, superstitions and ideas which keep the Filipino people in a world of

ignorance and unfounded beliefs, values, practices and prejudices which render them resistant to revolutionary and liberating change.

Popular because it emanates from, and serves the interests of, the broad masses of the Filipino people, reflects their conditions and expresses their needs and aspirations, and combats prevailing decadent, bourgeois and feudal, anti-people and anti- women values embodied in cultural forms and their introduction and propagation.

In addition, the new government shall foster values that encourage popular participation in public affairs and strengthen the spirit of public service.

The new government shall foster and promote the people's culture through the educational system, the arts, the mass media, and direct campaigns among the people. In this regard, ownership of educational, cultural and mass media institutions shall be freed from foreign control and private monopoly. However, people's organizations and professional guilds may own and operate cultural and mass media facilities. The freedoms of speech, press and expression shall be guaranteed.

Education, being the primary responsibility of the state, shall be accessible to all Filipinos. Free education shall be ensured at the primary and secondary levels, while appropriate subsidies for tertiary education shall be provided. Privately owned and administered educational institutions will be allowed under a policy of gradual assimilation into the public education sector.

Extensive literacy and educational campaigns shall be carried out to raise the cultural level of the people in areas that have lagged behind because of past disadvantages. Institutions of formal and non-formal education will be restructured and shall undertake the translation, publication, and massive dissemination of low-cost books and other reading materials. At the shortest time possible, the content of the curricula will be reoriented to make them more relevant to the needs of the nation and the people.

The new government will support the development of the creative arts (literature, visual and graphic arts, music, dance, film and the theater) and the growth of centers for artistic experimentation and innovation. It will encourage the adoption of a popular orientation, social relevance and revolutionary content and the development of creativity and quality of form in the arts, enhancing their contribution to the social and cultural liberation of the people.

The new government will propagate science and technology education and set up research centers for basic science and technology. It will also promote and encourage direct and active participation of productive enterprises in science and technology development.

Filipino shall be developed and popularized as the national language. Local languages and dialects will continue to be used and developed and contribute to the development of Filipino even as the latter does its share towards their further development.

The diversity of cultures among the various ethnolinguistic communities will be respected and fostered. Affirmative action shall be taken to rectify institutionalized oppression and discrimination.

Accounts of our history shall be rewritten from the Filipino people's point of view, highlighting their role in the making of history. Past distortions made by the imperialists and the local ruling classes to serve their interests shall be rectified. Our national cultural heritage shall be preserved and honored as a source of our people's dignity and pride. National cultural treasures will not be allowed to be brought out of the country.

Cultural exchanges of artists, writers, educators, scientists, scholars and others shall be encouraged, in the spirit of learning from one another and adopting those ideas and things that serve the needs of the nation and the people.

#### **10. UPHOLD THE RIGHTS OF THE BANGSA MORO AND THE CORDILLERA PEOPLES AND OTHER INDIGENOUS PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND DEMOCRACY.**

For more than three hundred years of Spanish colonial rule, the people in southern and central Mindanao who have come to be known as the Bangsa Moro, the peoples of the Cordillera mountain range and other indigenous peoples living in mountainous and hilly areas waged a heroic and sustained resistance to colonialism and imperialism.

It took the superior might of US imperialism to subdue them by force of arms and draw them into the ambit of colonial rule by bribing and coopting many of their leaders and undermining their system of livelihood and traditional institutions.

But these compatriots of ours have managed to continue their resistance in various ways, repeatedly rising in revolts and preserving a distinct culture.

Under the puppet neocolonial republic, the local ruling classes and their US masters marginalized these compatriots even further and treated them as inferior peoples. They became victims of institutionalized discrimination and oppression, massive landgrabbing and widespread armed terror and abuse. The Marcos fascist dictatorship multiplied these crimes a hundred times over by acts of genocide against the Moro people and widescale dispossession of the Cordillera people and other indigenous peoples of their ancestral lands.

The Moro people fought back, launching one uprising after another -- an armed resistance which rapidly developed into a full-blown revolutionary struggle for self-determination. The Cordillera peoples likewise rose in armed resistance, which they integrated into the revolutionary struggles of the entire Filipino people. Other indigenous peoples joined the national democratic struggle.

The NDF upholds the right of the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples to self-determination. They have the right to decide their own destiny, to free themselves from national exploitation, chauvinism and discrimination, to achieve democracy, to rule themselves and to pursue social progress in an all-round way and in accordance with their specific conditions.

This principled stand is in line with the NDF's aspiration to build a Philippines where there is unity, equality and brotherhood of all peoples and nationalities and to forge a nation that is founded upon real independence from imperialism, democracy for the people, and genuine autonomy for the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples.

The right to self-determination includes the right to secede, more so under conditions of national oppression. The Bangsa Moro had raised the banner of secession in its struggle against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Under a democratic Philippines where the equality of peoples and nationalities is guaranteed, the Bangsa Moro is urged to take the valid and viable option of a genuinely autonomous political rule.

Upon its establishment, the people's democratic government shall affirm the right to self-determination of the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples. It shall guarantee them genuine autonomous rule and rightful representation and participation in the central government. It shall resolve their claims to ancestral lands with due recognition of historical realities and shall redress their long standing grievances. It shall guarantee them equal political, economic and social rights as well as respect for their way of life.

Genuine autonomy would mean authentic and full guarantees for self-governance within the framework of the people's democratic republic of the Philippines, a structure of government that ensures full participation and decisive say by the people of the autonomous areas on all matters affecting their lives, recognition of their right to ancestral land, priority in employment and economic opportunities, returns from the economic development of their areas mainly accruing to them to hasten their social progress, and respect for their tradition and culture. Outside the autonomous areas, they shall be entitled to significant representation in the national people's congress and to proportional representation in organs of power in Mindanao at various levels.

The social, legal, religious and cultural traditions of the Bangsa Moro, the Cordillera peoples and other indigenous peoples shall be respected. At the same time, they shall be encouraged to interact with the richly diverse cultures in the Philippines. The historical, social and religious ties of the Bangsa Moro with their Islamic brethren abroad shall likewise be respected.

The central government shall help the autonomous areas and people therein to develop according to their decisions and specific conditions. It shall give them all the necessary support to enable them to advance and progress together with the rest of the nation.

## **11. ADVANCE THE REVOLUTIONARY EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN IN ALL SPHERES.**

Women suffer from distinct forms of oppression stemming from patriarchy that has been aggravated and deepened by feudalism, colonialism, capitalism and imperialism.

Women bear various forms of hardship, degradation and discrimination, in addition to the oppression and exploitation they suffer as part of society's work force. Their work in the fields as peasants, in the communities and in the home remains largely unpaid and unrecognized. As workers in the manufacturing, commercial and service industries, they are subjected to the most vicious forms of wage slavery and sexual harassment.

Professionals suffer from discrimination in terms of job opportunities and promotions. Many of them are forced to seek employment abroad as domestics and menial workers only to experience intense exploitation, racial discrimination and sexual abuse. Women serve as commodity in a sex industry that has grown into scandalous proportions.

Women are still generally discouraged, if not outrightly excluded from exercising their right to participate in decision- making in the home, in social life and in government, since they are expected merely to echo the views of their male partners.

The struggle to free our nation and society is intertwined with the struggle to liberate the women. Only by overthrowing foreign and feudal rule, and later on, smashing other social structures that buttress patriarchy, can the basic condition for the liberation of women be established.

Only by taking up the cause of the emancipation of women -- motivating, encouraging and supporting our women as they unshackle themselves from the bondage of the home, tradition and current prejudices -- can the revolution fully unleash the mighty force of women in the task of liberating our nation and society. The liberation of women is thus a key component in the liberation of the whole nation.

The revolutionary movement provides conditions for the liberation of women. But the pervasiveness of patriarchy makes it incumbent on all revolutionaries to combat it even within the revolutionary movement.

Under the new society, patriarchy will not disappear overnight. But the condition for greater social, economic and cultural freedom will arise to aid the movement for the full liberation of women.

A massive education program for both women and men shall be undertaken regarding the revolutionary emancipation of women and concrete measures to correct these inequities against women in various spheres of life.

Pervasive values and discriminatory practices against women, including all forms of sexism, shall be actively opposed. Physical and sexual violence and exploitation against women and children shall be subject to sanctions.

Full participation and democratic representation of women in government, economic organizations and social institutions shall be promoted.

The new government, through constitutional guarantees and legislation, shall promote affirmative action in the recognition and protection of women's rights in all fields of endeavor. All laws that discriminate against women shall be repealed. No one shall be denied the right to work, and the right to equal pay for work of equal value, and the right to own property on the basis of civil status and gender or sexual preference.

The new government shall provide appropriate mechanism for the just resolution of terminated marriages, including the right to divorce. Women's rights over their bodies and reproductive functions shall be guaranteed. Single parents shall likewise be entitled to benefits enjoyed by married persons.

Women will be provided programs, support structures and mechanisms to break the bonds of their social confinement and isolation. Significant attention shall be given to support programs for abused and abandoned women, maternal health care, safe means of contraception and skills development.

## **12. ADOPT AN ACTIVE, INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY.**

The National Democratic Front is exerting every effort to garner the broadest possible international support for the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people.

In representation of the revolutionary forces, especially the organs of political power, the NDF is seeking diplomatic recognition in accordance with the fact that the revolutionary movement in the Philippines is a co-belligerent in a civil war and not a mere insurgent force.

At the same time, we are vigilant to the domestic and international dangers related to engaging in any talks with the Manila government.

In the wake of the end of the cold war, the disintegration of revisionist-ruled regimes, the ceaseless deterioration of neocolonial societies and the singular superpower hegemony of U.S. imperialism, often in the name of the United Nations and international cooperation, the NDF is of the view that the increased oppression and exploitation of the people of the world and the widespread social turmoil will eventually lead to a new and higher level of social revolution on a global scale and that the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people currently plays a special role of holding high the torch of armed revolution against imperialism, neocolonialism and reaction.

The world capitalist system is in an unprecedentedly severe crisis of overproduction. This is devastating to the neocolonial puppet regime in the Philippines. This generates the favorable conditions for the armed revolution. The people's revolutionary struggle has been as self-reliant as the neocolonial puppet has been overdependent on its imperialist patrons.

Our people's war is part and supportive of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and reaction being waged by the proletariat and people, national liberation movements, revolutionary parties and progressive states.

Our struggle contributes to their victories, just as these help advance our revolutionary movement. The Philippine revolutionary forces can best contribute to the cause of national liberation, democracy, socialism and peace by winning our own revolutionary struggle.

We wage people's war self-reliantly but we also need expanded international support -- moral, political and material -- from the peoples and revolutionary forces abroad, in the face of the ceaseless and escalating US support for the armed counterrevolution. Direct US intervention is increasing and the threat of US aggression is ever present.

Those who extend support to the Philippine revolution are true friends of the Filipino people. We are grateful for such support and we receive it in order to further strengthen the revolutionary movement and fight more vigorously than ever before for the national and democratic rights of the people.

After the nationwide seizure of political power by the revolutionary movement, the people's democratic state shall pursue an active, independent and peaceful foreign policy. The new government shall reject, and vigorously defend itself against all forms of foreign intervention and interference in the country's internal affairs from all other states.

The new government shall establish diplomatic and economic relations with all countries irrespective of ideology or social system. In developing these relations, the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, mutual benefit, and the peaceful resolution of inter-state conflicts will be followed.

The new government shall seek to develop close and warm relations with Third World and socialist countries as well as productive and mutually beneficial relations with capitalist countries.

The new government shall work with states in Southeast Asia and Asia-Pacific to help create conditions in which each state can develop itself in peace. It shall push for the realization of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia, where nuclear weapons and foreign military bases are prohibited.

The new government shall strive to protect the rights of all migrant Filipinos, and address the problems of Filipinos abroad. It shall also respect the rights of all foreigners temporarily or permanently residing in the Philippines.

The new government shall support the just aspirations and struggles of other peoples and actively participate in the movement to establish a just international economic order. The new government shall adhere to the UN Charter and shall oppose the use of the United Nations for the purposes of imperialism, neocolonialism and reaction.

The people's democratic state shall support any resolution or initiative in the international community that enhances the sovereignty, independence and equality of nations, and that defends and promotes world peace and progress. #