

Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino

FIRST
NATIONAL
CONGRESS
JULY, 1973



FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE KATIPUNAN NG MGA DEMOKRATIKONG PILIPINO
JULY 28-29, 1973

The founding National Congress of the Katipunan can be summarized as a great step forward for the Pilipino Movement in the United States, both in the founding of a revolutionary mass organization which gives its support for the national democratic struggle in the Philippines as well as for the struggle of the Pilipino minority against the exploitation and racist oppression of US monopoly-capitalism.

In the process of developing a better understanding of the struggle for national democracy in the Philippines and the struggle for socialism in the United States, we could see that the two movements are integrally related as part of an international struggle against US imperialism. As an organization which encompasses members from diverse backgrounds as Pilipino-Americans, immigrants, temporary visitors, and others of non-Pilipino origin, it is decisive for us to grasp the interconnection between these two revolutionary movements and the importance of our ability to tackle essential tasks which lie in these two areas of struggle.

In clarifying these questions during the Congress, we were able to express our firmest unity in opposing US imperialism and our commitment to fight it, but at the same time were faced with many errors in our methods of struggle particularly on the part of leadership. There was a strong tendency on the part of Congress leadership to put forward concepts not previously discussed and in an abstract manner which was difficult for the mass members to understand.

These errors stemmed basically from two main problems:

- 1). The lack of preparation for the Congress in not having the position papers circulated well in advance of the Congress; and it failing to notify certain areas until just before the Congress.
- 2). Subjectivism on the part of the leadership in pushing certain concepts which were not broken down in simpler terms for the mass activists to understand.

At the same time, the mass activists demonstrated a high level of militance and political understanding in bringing up criticisms of the leadership in a special criticism and self-criticism session initiated by the mass members. This criticism was constructive and helped to push the Congress forward to a higher level of unity.

Other criticisms included having only two days set aside for the Congress leaving almost no time for breaks which prevented us from struggling some points out as thoroughly as we would have wanted to. But, despite these errors and weaknesses we were able to reach a new and higher level of political unity which was forged out of struggle. Surely the existence of a revolutionary organization which is situated in the forefront of support for the national liberation of the Philippines, the struggle for democratic rights for Pilipinos in the U.S. (for employment, housing, education, etc.) and is struggling for a society where there is an end to exploitation and oppression will mean a qualitative leap in our organizing work.

The First National Congress of the Katipunan brought together comrades from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Diego, Los Angeles, San Jose, Seattle, Delano, and the Bay Area, reflecting the true national character of the organization. The high level of the committed activists is exemplified in their integral relation to the struggle of Pilipinos in the U.S. Our activists have militantly participated in workers struggles against discrimination in employment, union organizing, the fight against martial law in the Philippines, housing struggles, youth programs and ethnic studies programs. And yet until now we have not been able to link up these struggles in a national organization which can guide this mass work with a revolutionary anti-imperialist perspective. It is clear that our most important and historic victory in the Congress was to launch the Katipunan. Our task is now to consolidate the organization, broadly expand our ranks and sink our roots deep among the Pilipino workers, youth, and community.

LONG LIVE THE KATIPUNAN NG DEMOKRATIKONG PILIPINO !

LONG LIVE THE PILIPINO PEOPLE !

NATIONAL COUNCIL of the KDP

SUMMARY OF THE PLENARY SESSION
ON THE DRAFT ON NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

A basic unity on the need for our organization to participate in the national democratic struggle of the Pilipino people was achieved in the workshops. The discussion in the plenary session centered on the questions of how the organization was to participate in this struggle.

There was a great deal of discussion on the question of whether the organization's participation in the anti-Marcos, anti-martial law movement in the U.S. fell under the definition of a popular front or that of a united front. The congress agreed that it was not in a position to discuss the question and that further study be done on the matter. To this end the national council offers these definition

1) The united front in colonial and semi-colonial countries like the Philippines takes the form of an alliance of different classes against imperialist domination; a united front in advanced capitalist countries like the U.S. is an alliance of forces within the working class against the bourgeoisie.

2) A Popular front in semi-colonial and colonial countries takes the form of an alliance between classes opposed to imperialism and some imperialist countries against another imperialist country which is the principal enemy at a given period, e.g. an alliance with imperialist United States against fascist Japan during World War II; A Popular front in advanced capitalist countries like the United States is based on the proletarian united front and is an alliance between the proletariat, the petty-bourgeoisie and even some elements of the bourgeoisie against the desperate offensive of monopoly capitalism which takes the form of fascism.

The Congress agreed that we could only lay down the general tasks of the organization in participating in the national democratic struggle in the Philippines and that we must clarify particular questions in regards to the role of the Katipunan in the anti-martial law movement in the U.S. in the future. A resolution embodying two general tasks was passed as part of our program on the national democratic struggle.

BASIC CHARACTER OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Basic Conditions of Contemporary Philippine Society

The Philippines, like most other colonial and semi-colonial countries is a country that is so rich in material resources that it could potentially and easily support a comfortable standard of living for more than twice its present population. Yet about 10 percent of the work force is currently unemployed and another 40 percent underemployed. Fifty per cent of all Pilipino families earn less than ₱1,500 a year or ₱62.50 monthly-- an income that barely meets survival requirements. The basic problem of the Pilipino people is not "over population," as many American-financed "social scientists" claim, but it lies in the social relations that hamper the full and proper development of our material and human resources as a nation. Perhaps the best indicator of the real nature of the problem is the fact that while 90 per cent of all families must share only 22 per cent of the national income, 2.5 per cent and a few foreign corporations monopolize 65 per cent of it.

The Philippines may be characterized as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The basic problem of such a society, the principal force that hampers its economic development and fosters an unequal distribution of wealth, is imperialism. Imperialism is the domination of a nation's economy by foreign monopoly capitalism for the purpose of extracting wildly excessive profits and assuring a stable source of raw materials and other primary products for the world's capitalist industrial centers. For the past 75 years the principal imperialist force in the Philippines has been American monopoly capital. Japanese monopoly capital runs second in the order of imperialist forces, followed by Western European monopoly capital. Currently there are increasing signs that Russian social-imperialism has intentions of joining the pack.

In 1970, 800 U.S. corporations with assets close to \$3 billion ruled the Philippine economy. The extent to which these firms plunder our material and human resources is shown by the fact that from 1956 to 1965, for every dollar invested in the Philippines, five dollars on the average flowed into the United States as profits. The only possible term for such an amount is superprofit, and its source lies in the super-exploitation of the Pilipino masses.

U.S. imperialism is not only interested in exporting capital to the Philippines for the purpose of excessive profit-making but also in keeping the Philippines a dependent underdeveloped country that would not threaten the industrial hegemony

of the monopoly capitalist powers, the chief of which is the U.S. thus investments flow primarily into commercial and service activities like petroleum-marketing; extractive activities, like oil-exploration and metal and mineral extraction; and large scale cash-crop production as exemplified by Dole's giant pineapple-raising and exporting business. What foreign capital does go into industrial activities flows principally to the finished and semi-finished goods sectors, like those of petroleum-refining and car assembly.

The areas of heavy industry and intermediate goods industry are generally skirted and repressed by imperialism since their development would be contrary to one of its fundamental aims: the industrial hegemony of the United States and the industrial dependency of the Philippines. U.S. imperialism further distorts the Philippine economy by directing investments at those areas which would yield a sure and easy profit instead of those which would yield at least some minimal benefit for the masses, such as health, shelter, and mass-transportation development. One of the reasons why U.S. imperialism can direct investment at will and thus twist and plunder our economy at will is its control of the Philippine banking system, a situation which enables it to use even the hard-earned savings of Pilipinos against them, for their continued exploitation. Monopoly capitalism in the Philippines and throughout the world is today totally regressive.

A comprador bourgeoisie whose members are primarily recruited from the Pilipino landlord class has arisen to service American imperialism. This segment of the bourgeoisie, among whom must be counted the Soriano's, Elizaldes, Ayala's and Zobel's has amassed wealth principally by serving as a go-between in the import of American industrial goods and the export to the United States of Philippine raw-materials. Also to be included in the ranks of the comprador bourgeoisie are those big landlords, like the Lopezes and the Cojuancos, who have built up sugar and other cash-crop kingdoms through special export arrangements with the United States. The future of the "sugar barons", for instance, is totally tied up with the "preferential treatment" they receive in the U.S. sugar market; they therefore have a direct stake in continued imperialist rule.

Imperialism has resulted in the stunted and distorted growth of a native industrial bourgeoisie. What industries have been allowed to develop under Pilipino control are principally unstable and medium-sized finished-goods enterprises, like cigarette manufacturing and shoemaking; or satellite industries that essentially service the big foreign firms, like small-scale manufacture of tools and spare-parts. At times representing imperialism, they are nevertheless tied to it by buyer, supplier, and credit relationships. They are likewise heavily tied to the landlord class through kinship. Hemmed in on all sides by imperialism and feudalism, the national bourgeoisie cannot perform the all-important task of building up the critical capital-goods and intermediate sectors of industry because of competition with the multinational corporations.

To maintain its stranglehold on the Philippines, the American imperialists have set up more than 20 military bases as a means of direct control on the Pilipino people. These bases occupy more than 200,000 hectares of Philippine soil and presently contain more than 20,000 servicemen. To further consolidate this direct control, the United States has imposed a series of military treaties and arms and technical-assistance agreements on the puppet government, one of the most reactionary being the RP-US Mutual Defense Treaty of 1951.

Imperialism likewise retains the semi-feudal social system in the countryside that oppresses the peasantry, which constitutes 75% of the total Philippine population. Although it appears paradoxical that international capitalism should support an archaic feudal system, there is in reality a conjunction of interest between these two forces. Feudalism has been retained by American imperialism to manipulate local backwardness for the purpose of having cheap labor and cheap raw materials. Furthermore, the U.S. imperialists do not want their operations disturbed by social disorder and social uprisings, and one of the most effective means of control over the people, the majority of whom are peasants, has been the existing semi-feudal means of social control, through the proxy rules of landlords in local areas.

Imperialism also rules indirectly through key men in the Philippine state apparatus. These men, many of whom have their origins in the landlord class, are defined by the characteristic of using political power to amass wealth. In return for bribes, for instance, they provide "extra-legal" protection to the foreign businessmen, the comprador, and the landlord. They then invest this extra income in imperialist and comprador-bourgeois enterprises and further increase it. Such men, who are found in large numbers in the state machine, therefore have a direct economic link with imperialism and a stake in its continued existence. The most prominent of these bureaucrat-capitalists is Ferdinand Marcos, who corruptly manipulated political power to enrich himself and rise from his modest landlord status to become perhaps the richest man in Asia, with shares in many American and Japanese corporations.

Formal democracy and the bourgeois parliamentary system was used to serve as a convenient means by which the local puppets of U.S. imperialism -- the landlords, comprador bourgeoisie, and bureaucrat capitalists -- resolved their conflicting petty interests while informally uniting to prevent the solution of the basic problems of the Pilipino masses. The political system was actually a joint dictatorship of these classes. In recent years, however, the masses have grown much more aware of the real roots of their problems -- imperialism and the puppet and smokescreen nature of the fake democratic and parliamentary system. Direct fascist rule through a "strongman" bureaucrat-capitalist has been resorted to by the imperialists because they have the illusion that fascism now provides a more convenient tool for keeping the masses in line. Fascism will in the long run, however, prove inefficient and impossible to maintain, for the rising revolutionary

consciousness of the Pilipino masses has gradually eroded the basis of fascist and imperialist rule. The masses have already swung into action under progressive and revolutionary leadership.

Classes in Philippine Society

It is necessary to carefully analyze the classes in Philippine society so that we may distinguish who are the allies of imperialism and who are oppressed by it. Class analysis is a necessary step in the formation of an anti-imperialist united front.

The Landlord Class. This constitutes about one percent of the population. The most backward and reactionary class, its interest lies in its alliance with imperialism. It is the main obstacle in the economic, political, and cultural development of the Philippines. The landlords own vast tracts of land, do not engage in labor and exploit the peasantry principally through the exaction of land rent and usury. The chief target of the revolution are these landlords who are big, despotic, and politically powerful, although the landlord class as a whole is a target of the struggle. The landlords closest to the imperialists are those who engage in the export of agricultural products. These are tied to imperialism through loan agreements and marketing agreements. Because they earn American dollars they easily assume the role of the comprador big bourgeoisie. The landlords never surrender their interests voluntarily and they violently oppress any movement reflecting the national and democratic aspirations of the Pilipino people.

The Bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie in the Philippines has three strata: the comprador big bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and the petty bourgeoisie. The first two strata account for about two percent of the population, the third accounts for seven percent.

The Comprador Big Bourgeoisie. As noted earlier, derives its wealth and power from its position of being the principal trading and financial agent of American imperialism. Its wealth is derived from the export of cheap raw materials and import of finished products. It inevitably has big landlord interests because its original economic base is the feudal ownership of land. Philippine wealth is today concentrated in the hands of about 50 comprador-landlord families. The comprador big bourgeoisie also largely manages the present political system for its imperialist masters.

The Bureaucrat-capitalists. Closely linked to the comprador bourgeoisie are the bureaucrat-capitalists. These are government officials often from modest landlord backgrounds who enrich themselves in office by providing "protection" and other extra-legal services to foreign businessmen and the comprador bourgeoisie. Some of these men ultimately become part of the comprador bourgeoisie through a devious use of their extra income. Bureaucrat-capitalists provide the recruits for fascist rule, a form of government to which the imperialists and big bourgeoisie resort when the fake democratic system is ripped apart by the contradic-

tions between the masses and imperialism.

The National or Middle Bourgeoisie. This sector represents the capitalist relations of production in the Philippines. It is oppressed to a great extent by imperialism, which cannot allow local competition. At the same time, it is linked to imperialism in varying degrees through contracts involving credit, supplies, and sales. It is generally fettered by feudalism, although many of its members have their origins in the landlord class. Though weak and flabby, it has the ambition of becoming a big bourgeoisie and building a capitalist state under its class dictatorship. At this point in history, however, unlike its 19th-century counterparts in Europe and America, it no longer has any chance to develop capitalism to the full and dominate the state. Due to its dual character it has an inconsistent attitude toward the national democratic revolution. At times an ally of the revolution, it is at other times its enemy.

The Petty Bourgeoisie. This includes the masses of students, teachers, small businessmen, rich peasants, professionals, craftsmen, and technical workers. While they constitute the biggest stratum of the bourgeoisie, they possess the smallest amount of property. Being definitely more oppressed by imperialism the petty bourgeoisie is a reliable ally of the leading motive force of the revolution, the working class, and its main force, the peasantry. From it spring many intellectuals who are not only sympathetic to the national democratic struggle but even take an active part in it.

The peasantry. The peasantry is the main force of the national economy. Comprising 75 percent of the population, this class has three strata: the rich peasants, middle peasants, and poor peasants. Severely oppressed by the landlords through the brutal exaction of land rent and usury, the poor peasants and the overwhelming majority of semi-owner peasants have as their essential goal the resolution of the land question. Together with the overthrow of imperialism, the national democratic revolution has as one of its fundamental goals the resolution of the land question in favor of the great masses of the peasantry through the destruction of feudalism. The poor peasantry and middle peasantry therefore serve as the natural and most reliable allies of the proletariat in the national democratic struggle. The revolutionary mettle of the peasantry has been tested in the national democratic struggles of China and Vietnam. Also the Pilipino peasantry will prove to be the staunchest ally of the working class in the Philippine National Democratic struggle.

The Proletariat. The proletariat comprises about 15 percent of the Philippine population. The defining characteristics of this class is that it does not own the means of production but has to sell its labor power to the capitalists and imperialists. The industrial working class is the most advanced productive force in the Philippines today. A great part of it is found employed in foreign monopoly capitalist firms, thus receiving the

full brunt of imperialist exploitation. Part of it is employed in the medium-sized and small firms of the big and middle bourgeoisie. To the industrial proletariat must be added the rural proletariat. Rural workers are found in commercial plantations specializing in sugar, abaca, fiber, coconut, and vegetable production. Whether they are exploited directly by foreign groups, like Dole Pineapple, or by big landlords, they receive very low wages and suffer the worst working conditions. Suffering a threefold oppression -- imperialist, capitalist and feudal -- the proletariat as a whole is the most resolute and thorough-going force in the national democratic struggle. Its relatively small size is offset by its strong proletarian leadership. For account of its advanced revolutionary character, the proletariat fills the leading role in the national democratic revolution.

Other classes in the Philippine society are the semi-proletariat and lumpen-proletariat. The semi-proletariat is made up of the unemployed and those with very unstable livelihoods; the lumpenproletariat, of those people who are forced by poverty into anti-social occupations, like robbery, thievery, extortion, and prostitution. The semi-proletariat is a motive-force of the revolution; properly guided, its members will enthusiastically fight against the class enemies of the revolution. The lumpen-proletariat is very unstable. Some of its members are used by the class oppressors to break up strikes and student demonstrations and as mercenary private troops who reflect the decadence and brutality of their masters. Some of them can however be remoulded and convinced to fight against the imperialists and the puppet state. Proper safeguards must always be set up, however, since these elements can easily become the source of roving-rebels and anarchist ideology in the revolutionary ranks.

Summing up, together with the imperialists, the landlords, comprador big bourgeoisie, and bureaucrat capitalists are the chief enemies of the national democratic revolution. The leading force of the national democratic struggle is the proletariat; the main force, the peasantry. The alliance of these two classes forms the cornerstone of the national democratic struggle and the anti-imperialist united front. The petty bourgeoisie is a reliable ally of the revolution, and the national bourgeoisie an unstable ally.

THE NATURE OF THE PRESENT PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

Because of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of the Philippine society, the present stage of the Philippine revolution cannot but take a national democratic character. It is a national revolution because it seeks to assert our national sovereignty against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, It is a democratic revolution because it seeks to fulfill the peasant struggle for land against the feudal landlords and, especially today, to uphold the democratic rights of the broad masses against fascism. The basic contradictions in our society are therefore those between the Pilipino nation and imperialism, and those between the great

masses of the people and feudalism. These contradictions will be resolved in the national democratic revolution which will liberate all Pilipinos from imperialist and feudal oppression.

The national democratic revolution has a united front character. This united front based principally on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry includes all patriotic and progressive classes in Philippine society. Of all such patriotic and progressive classes, the working class has the most advanced and scientific world outlook and therefore assumes the leading role in the national democratic revolution. It is the task of genuine national democrats to unite all those who can be united against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The bonds of the colonial and feudal slavery of the Pilipino people must be broken in order to bring forth a people's democratic government which can truly meet the national and democratic aspirations of the Pilipino masses.

The struggle of the Pilipino people is a great contribution to the struggle of the international proletariat and the oppressed masses of the world against U.S. imperialism and all reaction.

GENERAL PROGRAM OF THE KATIPUNAN
IN SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC
STRUGGLE IN THE PHILIPPINES

- 1) As Pilipinos in the U.S., we can play an important role in exposing the bankruptcy of the US-Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines by conducting intensive propaganda work on an international level. We can mobilize all possible anti-imperialist forces to end US aggression and to support the national democratic struggle of the Pilipino people.

- 2) Understanding that the main task of the Philippine national democratic revolution is strategically the development of a broad united front against US imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism and tactically the development of an anti-Marcos, anti-martial law movement, the Katipunan must assume a leading role in developing the anti-Marcos, anti-martial law movement among overseas Pilipinos.

SUMMARY OF THE PLENARY SESSION
ON THE DRAFT ON SOCIALISM

In our plenum on the second day we discussed and passed the draft perspectives on Socialist Revolution in the US. The body had reached agreement in discussion groups on the basic points that the Pilipino people in the US would participate and be an integral part of the revolutionary struggle against monopoly capitalism. And that the goal of such struggle would be to establish socialism in the US -- meaning that the power of the state would be held by the working class that represents the majority of the people; the means of production would be owned by the state (in control of the workers) and the production and wealth of society would be directed solely toward benefiting and fulfilling the needs of the working people in terms of housing, medicine, education, culture, etc.

Our congress was agreed on the general revolutionary tasks that lie ahead. The struggle for socialism must be led by the working class, therefore the principal task is to help build a revolutionary workers' movement. In addition to mobilize the broadest masses to oppose imperialist aggression and domestic fascism and to forge a progressive and revolutionary cultural movement.

In our plenum there was discussion and struggle to clarify the role of the labor aristocracy; the importance to combat sexist divisions among the working class; and the need to forge an anti-fascist popular front. The understandings and resolutions agreed upon have been incorporated into this final program.

In addition there was discussion on the social imperialist character of the Soviet Union. The body agreed that our organization requires more education on this matter.

PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

Class Forces in U.S. Society

In revolutionary struggle, it is absolutely necessary to determine who are our friends and who are our real enemies. We determine this by the relationship between the exploiters and the exploited. The United States is the most advanced monopoly-capitalist country in the world today. Most of the productive forces of the country are by and large controlled by 100 monopoly corporations and a handful of big banks.

The monopoly capitalist class. In the U.S., the class enemy of the American people and the people of the world is the monopoly-capitalist class. They comprise about 1/8 of 1% of the total population (less than 250,000 out of 200 million). Within this class there are 75,000 top level managers/directors and presidents of big corporations and banks. Each member of this sector wields about \$10 million in family fortune (McNamara-director of Ford Corp.-Sec. of Defense- President of World Bank is an example of this type of capitalist). In addition, there are 3,000 owners of capitalist industries or banks - these include families like Kaiser (Kaiser Steel), Howard Hughes (Air West). A.P. Giannini (Bank of America). At the head of this enemy class stands 500 finance capitalists who are organized in 28 "finance groups" such as Morgans, Rockefeller, Du Pont, Mellons. Each of the finance capitalist wields family fortune of about \$100 million. These are the forces who control banks and basic industries not only of the country but the whole world. Being in this position, they have a big hand in deciding major political, economic, and military policies.

The working class. Opposed to this class is the people of the U.S., the overwhelming majority of which are in the working class. This class sells their labor power which is the only means wherein they live. For them to survive means to continue to fight for jobs. In the U.S. for the vast majority it means working for the capitalist. This is the basic condition that defines the working class. 85% of the total population live in this condition. The average income of a working class family is about \$6,000 to \$7,000 per year, their wages are just enough for them to survive. The official government estimate for a family of four to live decently in America is \$10,000 annually.

Among the working class, less than 50% (about 85,000,000) functions as workers, meaning, they successfully sell their labor power and receive wages. The rest of the working class who do not have jobs would include children of workers, housewives, youth, GIs, unemployed workers, welfare recipients, "street" youth.

Those who seek for jobs but can not find them compose the "reserve army" of labor which is about 15% of the total population (20,000,000 unofficial estimate). This sector, which is predominantly non-white is an integral part of the working class. The reserve army of labor is an important segment of the capitalist

system because it creates the conditions for competition among the workers and keeps the wages down.

Within the working class, the most strategic sector are those whose labor adds value to the products they work with. It is this added value that is taken by the capitalist and transformed into profits. These workers are at the heart of all production, they produce the goods and food that are consumed as commodities (i.e.- cars, furniture, etc.) as well as producing and transporting the machinery and raw materials used by industry (i.e.- steel, tractors, etc.) as well as producing those things used up in the "defense of imperialism" (i.e.- tanks, bomber planes, surveillance equipment, etc). This sector of the working class has the most favorable material conditions to understand that the working class actually produces the social wealth of the society while the parasitic capitalist class appropriates it to themselves as their "private property". This sector constitutes less than one half of the working class.

The rest of the working class consists of those workers whose labor "realizes the profits of the capitalist class". These are workers whose work is related to the sales and distribution of commodities. It would include people involved directly in sales and distribution as well as related clerical work. Also there are those workers whose labor provides services for the society such as hospital workers, teachers and firemen, etc.

What unites the whole working class, whether they have jobs now or would seek jobs in the future, is the fact that their only means of survival is to sell their labor power to the capitalist class as wage slaves, thus making the capitalist class richer at the expense of the working class.

The petty-bourgeoisie. Another significant portion of the population is the petty-bourgeoisie. About 6% or approximately 12 million people compose the petty-bourgeoisie. This class has the means to exploit labor in order to keep their small businesses and professions functioning. This includes: small independent farms (about 3 million), small shop owners (about 2 million), construction trades (small enterprises that hire electricians, plumbers about 1/2 million,) real estate brokers (about 1/2 million). This sector of the petty-bourgeoisie is under the mercy of the monopoly capitalist for they are subject to competition and control of the monopoly-capitalist sector thus there is a material basis for them to be won over to the side of the revolution.

The professional strata of the petty-bourgeoisie includes: medical and law firms, researchers, authors, painter, professors, etc. They survive by selling their skills, talents and technical "know-how."

As a whole, the petty-bourgeoisie as a class, has no future under capitalism and this serves as a strong basis for winning them over to the side of socialism. On the other hand, this class

vacillates - first due to its own exploitative practices and second, because it enjoys "petty privileges" i.e. social status and position. When the class struggle is intense, they have the tendency to turn into a reactionary force. However, as a class, they can be considered within the ranks of the people.

The lumpen-proletariat. A strata whose basic condition is proletarian yet they respond to such oppressive conditions by using capitalist and bourgeois ethics. This means that they resort to gangsterism, theft, dope-pushing, pimping, etc. For this strata, petty crime becomes a way of life therefore they can be used as "thugs" or "goons" for the reactionary forces. In this context, they have to be differentiated from the young unemployed who are commonly called the "street youth". Truly lumpen forces can be won over to the revolution only with close and patient work on the part of revolutionaries, and as a strata of the population they do not constitute a reliable ally of the working class.

Summing up, we can see then that the vast majority of the people of the U.S. have no stake in this monopoly-capitalist system and that they can be aroused and mobilized towards the revolutionary struggle for socialism. This struggle would have to be led by the militant and united working class, which would constitute the leading and main force for revolution, in close alliance with the other progressive sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie.

GENERAL PROGRAM AND STRATEGIC TASKS FACING REVOLUTIONARY
ACTIVISTS FORGING SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.

The principal ideological work facing revolutionaries in the U.S. is to bring the workers to a consciousness of their own conditions as a class as well as their revolutionary tasks. Such revolutionary consciousness would be achieved through concrete experiences in class struggle and through the study of the advanced theory of the working class.

BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The general and strategic political task is to build a broad-based revolutionary workers movement through integrating with the concrete struggles of the working class and raising its political level to that of conscious class struggle.

To achieve this goal requires overcoming certain obstacles, such as exposing the contradiction between the labor aristocracy and the whole working class. The labor aristocracy is based in the highly paid, skilled trades sector of the working class. These are the workers whose relatively privileged positions in terms of income and job security brings them to identify their class interests with those of the capitalists. Such labor aristocrats defend the capitalist system and will take the most reactionary and backward political positions. They are threatened by the less skilled and unorganized sectors of the working class and will oppose the building of a revolutionary workers' movement. Because of this their political influence should be neutralized and isolated within the working class. However, as conditions worsen and this sector loses its privileges it will create the basis to win them over to the genuine interests of the whole working class. The big and corrupt union bureaucrats come from the labor aristocracy. They work to consciously blur the class antagonisms between the workers and management, and prevent the development of revolutionary consciousness within the workers movement. In return, they receive huge salaries from the union treasuries of up to \$100,000/year, as such they serve as paid agents of the capitalist class within the workers movement. Such scabs are best represented by types like G.Meany(AFLCIO) and F. Fitsimmons (Teamsters).

To build this movement, we have to also combat bourgeois ideas and attitudes among the working class such as: a) racist ideas that divide white workers from non-white workers. We must always struggle for unity among the working class based on a repudiation of white supremacist ideas and practices and to struggle against all forms of discrimination and inequality based on race. b) combat petty bourgeois ideas and aspirations that hinder the development of the political consciousness of the working class by creating illusions concerning property and status. Particularly among the better paid workers, such illusions separate these workers from the unskilled and more oppressed sectors of the working class as well as the unemployed

workers. This manifests itself in the tendency for them to consider themselves better than those workers who do not own petty property. c) Combat pro-imperialist ideas that divide the American working class from the oppressed people of the world in their struggle against imperialism. This manifests itself in national chauvinism where the working class views itself in opposition to the wars of national liberation. The working class must clearly grasp and understand that to defend the government in its aggressive foreign policy is to defend the interests of the capitalist class and not the interests of the people. It is essential to arouse the working class to actively oppose imperialist aggression and to understand that a nation can never be free as long as it oppresses other nations. d) Combat sexist practices and ideas perpetrated by the capitalist class for the purpose of dividing men from women workers. Women are concentrated in the most oppressed and unorganized sectors of the working class, often doing the same work as men for less pay and working under very bad conditions with no protection. A strong working class movement can not be built without the active participation of women who make up over one third of the active work force. Men workers must learn to actively defend the rights and fight for the demands of women workers in building a revolutionary workers' movement.

BUILD A BROAD ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT

Another political task is to build a broad-based anti-imperialist movement that would include workers, youth, GI's and the progressive petty bourgeoisie. We must expose all forms of US imperialist aggression and mobilize the people to support the movements of oppressed peoples and nations for self-determination against imperialism.

BUILD A BROAD BASED ANTI-FASCIST POPULAR FRONT

For years the capitalists have proven that they will resort to fascist tactics against the people. However, especially with the decline of U.S. imperialism and the sharpening of the class struggle at home, monopoly capitalist forces are pushing the U.S. government closer and closer towards a full-blown fascist police state. Fascism would deprive the people of even the bourgeois democratic rights and use naked repression against the working class. And fascism would create serious obstacles in building the revolutionary movement in America. We must combat the development of fascism in the U.S. by exposing to the people all the undemocratic activities of the government and capitalists and by mobilizing the broadest democratic forces in opposition to fascism. Only a broad popular front could prevent the development of fascism. Such a popular front would have to be built on the foundation of a united front among the working class forces and would include those anti-fascist strata and elements within the petty bourgeoisie and even within the bourgeoisie.

FORGE A REVOLUTIONARY CULTURAL MOVEMENT

Culture is a vital weapon in the revolutionary struggle. As a long-range political task revolutionaries should launch a popular revolutionary cultural movement among the people. The youth has a vital role in such a movement in awakening the people to the basic realities of the class struggle and in popularizing the fine qualities of the working class. In particular to develop an appreciation for the dignity of the American working class and an awareness of its history and rich experience in struggle.

Our cultural and organizing work among the people should also combat bourgeois ideas that relegate women to a backward and non-participating role in the society. The women comprise one half of the total population. As revolutionaries we must always encourage their active participation in the class struggle; women's participation is one of the determining factors in the success of the revolution.

Socialism is the system of the working class. In the course of the revolutionary struggle in the U.S., we must bring the broadest sector of the American people to the conviction that socialism is the superior system. This should be done through propaganda and educational work around the rich experiences of countries where the working class has taken power and is successfully building socialism, i.e. China, Vietnam, Albania, Korea.

All these cultural tasks can be developed and expressed in various forms by relying on the creativity and enthusiasm of the people.

GENERAL PROGRAM AND TASKS FACING PILIPINO REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVISTS

As Pilipino revolutionaries, we share the above stated tasks with the broader American revolutionary movement. But as Pilipinos we have particular tasks in forging socialist revolution in this country.

There are about 500,000 Pilipinos in the U.S. There are those who came in 1920's and after World War II, Pilipino-Americans, recent immigrants (since 1965), exchange students and visitors. What unites all the Pilipinos living in the U.S. is our common oppression experienced under monopoly-capitalism in this country. For the majority of the Pilipino people, their basic condition in this country is as members of the working class.

As Pilipino revolutionaries our over-all political task is to draw the Pilipino people into the struggle against concrete injustices that they experience in this society and in that process raise their class consciousness.

In the U.S. there is a Pilipino national minority whose

destiny is inseparably linked up with that of the whole American working class in its struggle for socialism. Increasing numbers of recent immigrants are becoming an integral part of this national minority. Our strategic task is to draw the Pilipino national minority within the midst of the socialist struggle in America.

More particularly we have the ideological task of encouraging the serious study of the advanced theory of the working class among the Pilipino people in America.

Politically, we must draw the Pilipino workers within the ranks of the American workers' movement and to raise their revolutionary class consciousness.

We must organize Pilipino workers around particular problems that they face (i.e. discrimination, immigration problems) as well as around the contradictions that they face as part of the broader American working class (i.e. unionization drives, fights for better working conditions and decent wages, etc.). We should encourage Pilipino workers to unite with other workers in developing rank and file caucuses.

Forge unity of the working class through close alliance with other non-white workers. Combat racial divisions and fight for equality within the working class.

We must draw the broad sector of the Pilipino people within the anti-imperialist movement. In particular, to do propaganda and organizing work around National Democratic struggle in the Philippines. Our political work in forging a broad-based anti-Marcos, anti-martial law movement among Pilipinos should also be viewed in the context of this broader task.

We must be in the midst of the Pilipino youth and student movement. Struggle to guide it in a revolutionary and anti-imperialist direction, especially in the areas of culture and education. In particular, we should struggle for the influence of revolutionary ideas in Pilipino studies programs. And integrate with student and youth clubs, linking their activities with the broader struggles of workers and communities.

Some Pilipino communities in the U.S. reflect sharply the class and racial oppression experienced by Pilipino people. In particular, many Pilipino oldtimers and recent immigrant families find themselves in run-down neighborhoods in urban areas along with other minority people and poor whites. In such areas there are serious problems such as bad housing and high rents; lack of recreational facilities for young and old alike; low standard schools, etc. Pilipinos in such neighborhoods face slumlord evictions, high unemployment, the youth have problems in school and with drugs. As revolutionaries we should address ourselves to these problems and unite with the people in the struggle for their basic rights. And through this, we should strive to bring the people to the revolutionary understanding that the basic rights of the working people for housing, medicine, education

and employment can never be assured under the capitalist system.

We should integrate within progressive community organizations that address themselves to the needs of the broad sector of the Pilipino people. We should do good in addressing ourselves to concrete problems and in all community issues we should be principled and stand firmly for the long-range interests of the majority of the people.

We should participate in broad-based social organizations. Although such organizations may represent a relatively backward political formation at this time, they have contacts with the broadest sector of the Pilipino people. In our attempts to establish close links with the people, we should participate in these groups with the confidence that the majority of the people have the material basis for progressive and potential revolutionary ideas.

In conclusion, our revolutionary struggle for socialism in the U.S. is an integral part of the struggle for liberation and the end of exploitation of people by people. Such a struggle embraces the whole world and as such is bound to be uneven in its development. That is, different countries and areas face particular problems and conditions that determine the stage and character of their revolutionary struggle. In some areas the flames of revolution are raging while in others conditions are in the process of ripening. Because of this the world revolutionary struggle is bound to be protracted and beset with many difficulties. But the main thing that the present times confirm, is that the people will persist in revolutionary struggle so long as there is injustice, and by doing so, are bound to achieve final victory!

SUMMARY OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE
DRAFT ON ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

In the general discussion on the draft on the organizational structure, the body achieved a political unity on the basis that the organization will take a democratic centralist form and that its character will be a mass organization which would include the conscious participation of members within other existing mass organizations such as community and social organizations.

There was a long discussion that centered on the question as to whether the organization will take a socialist character. The body agreed that the organization saw that the only alternative to monopoly-capitalism is socialism and that the organization will consciously fight for this principle.

As to the relationship of the national organization to other fraternal organizations, the body decided that as a revolutionary, anti-imperialist organization, we should forge close fraternal ties with other anti-imperialist and revolutionary organizations within and outside the U.S.

In addition, there were some particular additions and alterations agreed upon by the congress that have been incorporated in the final program.

The National Council would like to offer the following clarifications on the question of organization building. We must all recognize the fact that the organizational structure is created to facilitate the mass work of our activists and not to create immense bureaucracies which only hamper our ability to reach the masses.

The chapter structure of the organizational guide is meant to serve the two basic needs of the Katipunan, mass work and internal organization. This serves as the basis for the creation of work groups in basic areas of mass work as well as internal committees for our P.E., propaganda, finance and over-all responsibility. It is important for all chapters to embody these two components. It is absolutely necessary that all chapters recognize the importance of both areas of organization and their integral relationship since many of our errors in the past have centered on having only mass work or only internal structures. Therefore we are calling on all chapters to apply these principles in a flexible and creative manner under the guidance of regional and national leadership.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The merger of the organizations, Kalayaan, Progresibong Kilusan ng mga Pilipino and the Katipunan ng mga Progresibong Pilipino was the basis for the formation of a nationwide Pilipino anti-imperialist organization. This formation included the participation of Pilipino activists and collectives all over the country who are involved in organizing youth and community. The basis of unity in the organization is our common opposition to United States imperialism and particularly its aggression in the Philippines. We see that the only viable movement which can liberate the Philippines from both U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs, is the national democratic revolution.

At the same time as Pilipinos living in the United States, we recognize that the Pilipino national minority is confronted by the exploitation and oppression of U.S. monopoly-capitalism or imperialism which only a socialist revolution can abolish. On this common basis of unity we can develop a broadly-based organization of Pilipinos, immigrants, temporary visitors, and Pilipino-Americans. Although this is principally a Pilipino organization, we also recognize that there are some Americans and others of non-Pilipino origin, who consider the national democratic struggle in the Philippines and the struggle of Pilipinos here in the United States as their main emphasis of political work. Those non-Pilipinos who agree with our goals and principles should also be admitted to the organization.

In order to function as a national organization to carry out these goals and further these struggles, we see the necessity of a unified political and organization character which can only be fulfilled in a democratic-centralist organization. A democratic centralist organization **realizes** the necessity of centralized decision making for the organization and at the same time understands that centralized decision making and effective leadership are only possible when that leadership is applying the principle of "from the masses, to the masses." That is, democratic-centralism requires leadership to be responsible to the mass members and local chapters of the organization.

The organizational structure is as follows:

I. NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

A. The National Congress

shall represent the mass members of the organization and will be the highest policy making body of the organization. For the first congress all mass members of the organization will be invited to attend, as voting representatives. At all future Congresses, the National Council (NC) will assign the number of voting delegates from each chapter proportionate to the mass membership. The

National Congress will be convened by the functioning National Council at least within every two years, or on the initiation of a majority of the chapters.

B. The National Council

shall follow the policies and guidelines set by the National Congress and shall be the highest policy making body when the National Congress is not in session. The National Council should reflect the national character of the organization. It will be made up of nine members of the organization elected at large by the National Congress. Any member of the National Council can be suspended or expelled by a 2/3 votes of the NC. Any vacancy in the NC can be replaced through a majority vote of the NC. It will be responsible for admitting new regionals and provisional regionals when it deems necessary. This body should meet at least once every six months or whenever major policy decisions must be made. The National Council will be convened upon the action of the National Executive Board or upon the vote of a majority of National Council members.

C. The National Executive Board

shall be responsible for the day to day decision making of the organization and for carrying out the policies set by the National Council. The National Executive Board will be made up of three members of the National Council elected by the Council as a body. Each elected member of the National Executive Board will be elected to fulfill the functions of only one of the following positions on the Board:

1. THE NATIONAL CHAIRPERSON who will act as the national spokesperson of the organization and shall be responsible for the overall operations of the National Secretariat.
2. VICE-CHAIRPERSON who will be responsible for the Organization Department and Education Department of the National Secretariat. She or he will take up the responsibilities of the National Chairperson should the person be unable to continue in the duties of the chair.
3. THE GENERAL SECRETARY who will be responsible for the Propaganda Commission and Finance Commission of the National Secretariat.

The National Board will operate out of the National Headquarters, to be located in the Bay Area, although members of the Board need not necessarily come from the Region in which the Headquarter is located at the time of their election. The members of the National Executive Board shall be responsible for the correct implementation of both collective leadership and individual responsibility and they shall effect the broadest possible democracy in their leadership of the national organization. The Na-

tional Executive Board shall be responsible for setting up the National Secretariat which will carry out the day-to-day activities of the national organization. Any member of the National Executive Board can be removed from the Board by a majority vote of the National Council.

D. The National Secretariat

shall be the staff of the National Executive Board in conducting the day-to-day political and organizational tasks of the organization. Members of the Secretariat will be recruited by the National Executive Board to assist with the work of the Organization Department, Education Department, Finance Commission and Propaganda Commission.

II. REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

The regional organization shall be organized in a similar fashion as the national organization, but on a regional level. Due to the fact Regional Executive Board work will be relatively minimal, there is no significant need for regional secretariats yet, and even the Regional Executive Board should take local responsibilities in their chapters.

III. CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

A chapter is defined as any local group of three or more active members of the organization. Regional organizations will take the responsibility for admitting new chapters into the organization when such new chapters are within their regions. A suggestion on the structure of the local chapter is basically the same as the national structure (though there will be variation depending upon local conditions).

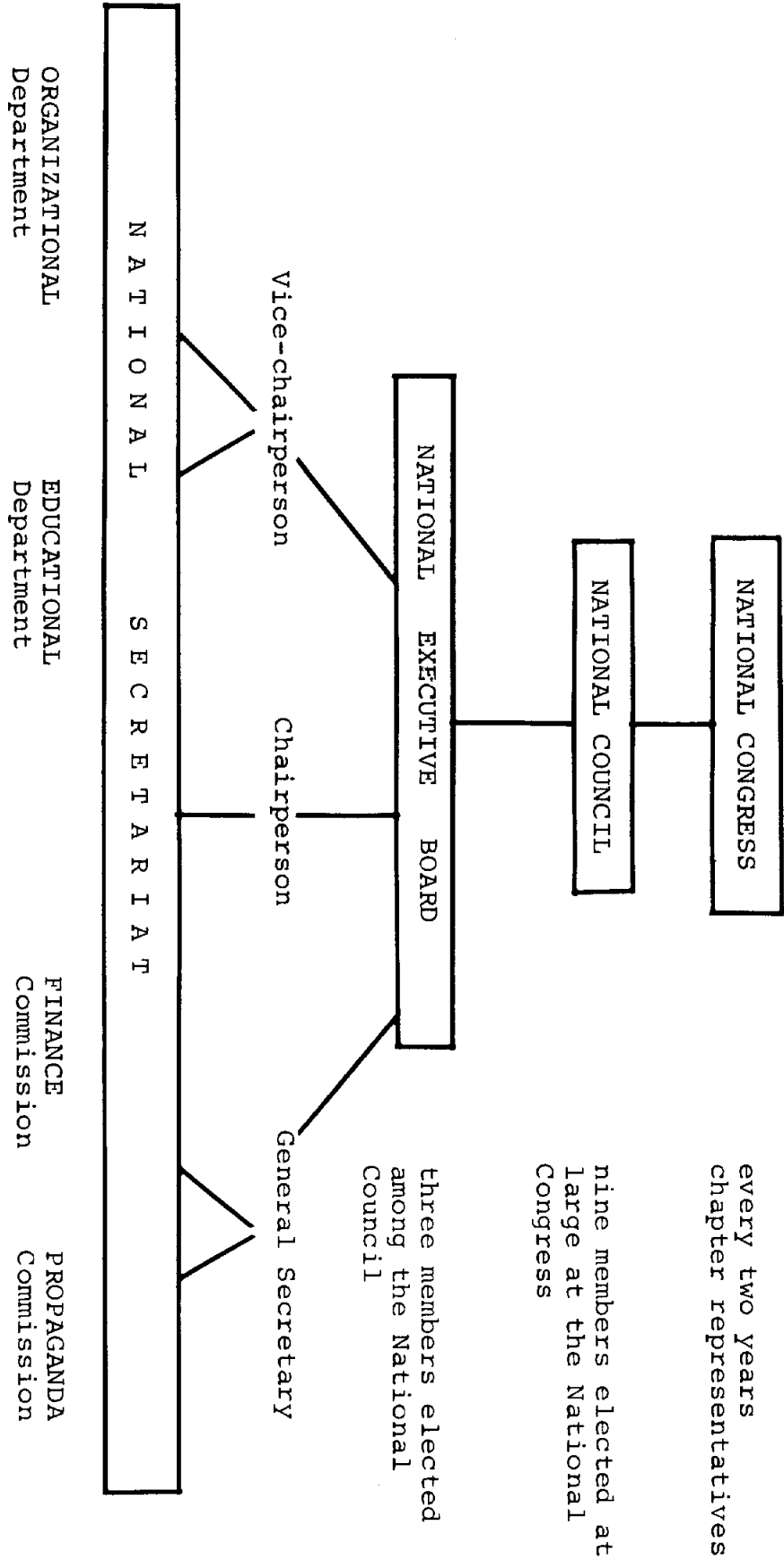
- A. The chapter would be divided into local work areas by sector, or by the nature of their mass work; for example, workers, alliance work (within coalitions, other mass organizations such as general community groups), and/or youth work.
- B. The chapter would also have internal working committees such as finance, education, propaganda, and organization, as needed.
- C. The chapter, as the basic unit of the organization, will be responsible for recruiting new members, gaining the closest possible ties with the masses, and leading the mass struggles of the Pilipino people here in the United States.

It was approved as a policy by the Congress that:

The National Organization will place equal importance on the two political tasks of organizing around the situation in the Philippines and organizing around the particular problems in the U.S.

Chapters therefore should make their recommendations to the National Council as to their principal area of work based on social investigation and mass work in their given area.

NATIONAL STRUCTURE



REGIONAL

REGIONAL STRUCTURE:

As conditions exist in different regions, the National Council will convene regional congresses which will elect regional councils, which in turn will appoint regional executive boards and develop regional secretariats.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER STRUCTURE:

Chapter members will be organized in two related but distinct structural components 1) areas of mass work 2) internal organizational committees. All chapters must contain both components and members are expected to function in both. However the sole purpose of the structure is to facilitate our political work and therefore flexibility according to the particular conditions in each chapter must be the general rule in all organization.

Chapter mass work areas

W O R K G R O U P S

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ALLIANCE | WORKERS | YOUTH/COMMUNITY |
| -anti-imperialist coalitions | -with nurses | -Pilipino student clubs |
| -anti-martial law organizations | -with factory workers | -community youth organizations |
| -social clubs | -with Pilipino workers' org. | -community service organizations |
| | -with rank/file caucuses | |

Chapter internal organization

CHAPTER

CHAPTER EXECUTIVE BOARD

elected at large by chapter

I N T E R N A L C O M M I T T E E S

Organizational

Education

Finance

Propaganda

APPENDICES ON THE NATURE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

IMPERIALISM IS THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.

The people of Asia, Africa and Latin American are suffering from hunger, disease, extreme exploitation and are being subjected to all kinds of national and racial humiliation. U.S. imperialism is the leading imperialist power responsible for the continued oppression of colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The world is divided between the rich imperialist countries and the poor semi-colonial countries. The gap between the two is tremendous and is continually growing wider. For example, the average annual per capita income in the U.S. is \$3,000, while 40 colonial countries together, comprise an average per capita income of less than \$120. The rich imperialist countries are highly industrialized, while Asia, Africa and Latin America are kept underdeveloped and backward. One index of industrialization can best be seen in the amount of steel the economy consumes, i.e. four Western countries (like U.S. Britain, Sweden and West Germany) together have an average annual per capita consumption of 564 kilograms; while six underdeveloped countries like Pakistan, Thailand, Nigeria, the UAR, Brazil and Peru together have an annual per capita consumption of 20 kilograms of steel.

Considering the unlimited wealth of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in terms of natural and human resources, we still see these millions of people are suffering from poverty, endemic diseases and malnutrition. 332 million lbs. of meat (1968) are exported from Latin America to the U.S. while 140 million people are suffering from malnutrition. While U.S. corporations control 80% of the copper mines in Chile, 600,000 children there will never live normal lives because they do not get even the minimum amount of protein they need.

Such material oppression of these countries is not all. The people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are at the same time subjected to extreme national and racial oppression. In S. Africa the average pay for a Black miner (in 1968) was \$285, while a white settler receives \$4,740. If an African happens to sit on a park bench which is "for whites only", they are fined \$840 with a jail sentence of 3 years; for engaging in strikes \$400 fine and a three year imprisonment; and a maximum death penalty for possession of firearms.

The imperialist will always make sure that they maintain a hold over their "subjects" by waving the banner of "democracy", benevolent assimilation. They try to instill in them false ideas of inferiority because of their race and culture. This is only to justify imperialist control and to blur the real cause of the ills and problems that the majority of the people face. In the Philippines, the U.S. imperialist imposed the English language as the official medium of instruction in almost all of the schools, and tried to propagate the idea of the "great civilization and the superiority of the Western culture and ideas." In India, Peru, the Philippines, etc., American-financed agencies like U.S.AID and monopoly-capitalist foundations like Rockefeller peddle popu-

lation control and family planning as the solution to problems of poverty, and unemployment in these countries.

Such control is further tightened through foreign economic aid programs which are designed to perpetuate underdevelopment. These U.S. aid and loan programs are a means to dominate countries by making stipulations on the loan that the entire amount must be used to buy U.S. products. Consequently, the U.S. AID programs only gain more super profits for U.S. corporations and are a convenient subsidy for the capitalists at the expense of the U.S. taxpayers.

U.S. IMPERIALISM IS THE LEADING IMPERIALIST POWER AND IS THE CHIEF ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.

Since the end of World War II, U.S. imperialism has taken on the task of the "policemen for capitalism"---keeping as much of the world free for "democracy", but in reality, free for U.S. business interests to continue to exploit and plunder. The U.S. imperialists have become the principal reactionary force politically and militarily in opposing the just desires of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America for national liberation and independence. The U.S. has over 1.5 million troops stationed in over 200 military bases throughout the world and has actively interfered in the internal affairs of other countries 45 times since the end of World War II.

U.S. imperialism has become the main target of attack for all revolutionary as well as progressive and nationalist forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America and even in Europe. Despite its apparent military and economic strength, U.S. imperialism is continually attacked from all sides and is suffering defeats on many fronts.

U.S. attempts to keep control of these countries through many economic and political tactics. U.S. loans (as well as World Bank and International Monetary fund, which are dominated by the U.S.) and U.S. aid programs are used by the imperialists to assure U.S. economic privileges within the countries as well as used as blackmail to threaten "economic ruin" if ever there are nationalist political moves that challenge imperialist interests. On the other hand, it has been recently exposed that ITT (whose capital holding are bigger than the national budgets of several Latin American countries) put together, with the active help of the U.S. CIA, an 18-point plan to prevent the election of Chilean president Allende. It included the attempts to strangle the national economy, diplomatic sabotage, sowing panic among the population and fomenting social disorder. When such underhanded tactics are exposed or no longer work, the U.S. resorts to the most brutal and barbaric attacks through military intervention. Today the world has witnessed the massive destruction of Indochina by the U.S. military might in the most genocidal and aggressive war ever known. The U.S. is also the chief backing for other reactionary forces throughout the world. For example, U.S. gives more military aid to Israel than other country in the world outside of Vietnam.

In Africa, U.S. has given colonial Portugal over \$400 million since 1961 in arms, ammunitions, napalm defoliants and fighter bombers to help put down the rebellion of the people of Angola and Mozambique. In Iran, U.S. granted the Shah a total of 39 million in loans to buy American military equipments so that this hated ruler can protect himself and U.S. business interests from his own people.

COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONS WANT LIBERATION.

Wherever there is exploitation and oppression, there is resistance and struggle, In the past 60 years there has been a steady rise in the mightiest revolutionary storm. The oppressed peoples of colonial and semicolonial countries are rising up against imperialist control and domination. The people of China, Korea, Cuba and Vietnam have fought and defeated the U.S. imperialist in battle. In Asia, Africa and Latin American there are growing wars of national liberation and independence. Newly independent countries of Africa are struggling for control over their economic and political life. They are joined recently by Latin American countries and together they represent a progressive force in the world opposed to imperialist aggression and super-power hegemony.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are rapidly developing the revolutionary consciousness that to gain control of their countries and destinies they must drive out the imperialists, principally the U.S., by mobilizing the masses of people to take up arms and launch a long and arduous people's war.

THE PEOPLE OF IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES SUFFER UNDER THE HEAVY BURDEN OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM.

A distinction must be made between the people and the government of imperialist countries. The people of "oppressor" nations are not themselves oppressors. For the vast majority of them face exploitation and oppression from the same enemy class. The working class, due to the instability and fluctuations inherent in a capitalist society is continually subjected to inflation, rising prices, recession and rising unemployment... thus widening the gap between the rich and the poor.

The great impression that the majority of the American people are rich is a myth. In reality, half of the population live below the poverty-line, where a "poor" family (as defined by the Social Security Administration) of four gets an annual income below \$3,000. To live moderately in an urban setting, a family of four needs at least \$10,000 a year. In capitalist countries, there is no such thing as "genuine social security". The capitalist rule of "each against all and every man for himself" reigns supreme. The working class is continuously thrown into competition with each other in a never ending fight to secure and maintain a job, a decent wage and survival. There is no such thing as socially guaranteed human rights. Consequently, millions are deprived of the most basic social services and facilities such as decent housing, education, medicine, because

they lack money to pay for such necessities. We witness our Pilipino Pioneers who have toiled all their lives and are still struggling to obtain decent housing. Manilatowns throughout the West Coast have all faced the wrath of redevelopment and uprooted the Pilipino communities.

The capitalist class controls the political machinery of the society where all basic government policies are in the final analysis subjected to their class needs. Therefore, the people of the imperialist countries find themselves over and over confronted with foreign wars of aggression which they do not support. For one, they are required to pay enormous cost in terms of taxes as well as family hardships such as sending their sons to fight and die for an imperialist cause. For example, one trillion dollars has been spent on war expenditures by the U.S. since World War II, at the cost of about 50,000 American lives, not to mention millions of Vietnamese who have died in Indochina. More than 60% of every tax dollar is used for "defense" purposes and more than 1/3 of America's total industry is defense-oriented. 25% of the GNP and of employment is attributed to military spending. The productive forces are not used for the benefit of the masses of people but to bolster the profits for the monopoly-capitalists. What could a trillion dollars do? \$600 billion could decently house every U.S. family; \$71.5 billion could eliminate pollution; \$40 billion could bring every American family to minimum standard of living; \$6 billion could eliminate and prevent most diseases.

Beneath all the rhetoric about "freedom of speech, assembly, and protest" lies the harsh reality of the army, police and courts used as tools of the capitalist class to suppress any significant act of rebellion on the part of the people. The national guard is always used to put down legitimate revolts for democratic rights, for example: Watts riots, Wounded Knee, Attica prison revolt, etc. Through the years, Defense Department money has been funneled to local police agencies in major cities to equip them with the most technically advanced gears for repressing those millions of blacks and other Americans trapped in ghetto slums. Also in supposedly "democratic" imperialist countries like Japan and France, etc. we see the same thing happen. Wherever workers and students struggle against the contradictions of their monopoly-capitalist master, the police and army are hurled against them.

While failing to address itself to the needs of the broad working masses, the governments of imperialist countries serve as the "godfather" to the monopoly-capitalists. These governments sanction the waste and pollution of monopoly capitalists industries; close their eyes to the collusion and price-fixing of Big Business; and subsidize and bail out-of-trouble large capitalist interests. While the government grants millions of dollars in loans to Lockheed and Penn Central, many small businesses and farms get no loans and are forced out of business each year. In 1970, two big California growers received \$4.4 and \$3.3 million each in subsidies. The class character of the government is clearly exposed when comparing assistance given big business to that of the public; in other words, assistance from the government is not for the welfare of the people.

Bourgeois culture in imperialist countries weighs down heavily on the masses of people --- Capitalist interests have control of and have decisive influence in all major fields of education, media, art writing, etc. Bourgeois culture generates selfish and decadent ideas and spreads pro-imperialist and fatalistic sentiments among the people. This has the effect of poisoning the consciousness of people, preventing a clear understanding of friends and enemies and creating serious obstacles in awakening the people to revolutionary struggle. In Harlem. 1 out of every six people is on heroin, that is over 40,000 people. Many ghetto communities are infested with drug pushers, who promote on the youth the false happiness of drugs. Under drugs, fighting and resistance becomes deadened

The struggle of the working class in the imperialist countries has a long and rich history. In recent years with the rapid decline of imperialism, this struggle has been intensifying and broadening. Wider sectors of workers and youth in imperialist countries are fighting against the numerous injustices that stem from monopoly capitalist exploitation. In the U.S. in particular, recent years has seen ground swell in the workers struggles as well as the mass struggle of Blacks and other minority people against the various forms of racial and national oppression. Youth and broad sectors of American people have risen up in opposition to imperialist war in Indochina. As more liberation struggles rise, U.S. imperialism will expose its ugly hand and more and more of the American people will become conscious of the need for revolutionary change.

The struggle of oppressed people against imperialism and that of the working people in imperialist countries against monopoly capitalism is one struggle against the same enemy.

"THE HISTORY OF ALL HITHERTO EXISTING SOCIETY IS THE HISTORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE".

Ever since the emergence of classes, mankind has known war and revolution. Classes arose at the historical point when primitive societies began to produce a surplus over and above the needs of the community of producers... then the question arose, "who should appropriate to themselves this surplus?" First it was the strongest... the warriors, added to them were the class of priests (who had developed the power to communicate to the gods on behalf of the toilers), and of course, the kings and chiefs who had a special relationship to both the warriors and the gods. Now there develops the antagonism between producers and non-producers. With the development of such antagonistic classes, the laws of social development began to operate..."oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried out an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

It is this struggle between classes that has been the locomotive moving mankind forward from one social system to another. In all class societies, the "appropriating classes" have had to first fight to establish themselves politically as the ruling class.

This has been done by seizing control of the state power in order to maintain its own social and economic system. The state establishes a "complete system" which allows the ruling class the use of custom, religion and ultimately force in maintaining itself in power.

The slave masters during the slave system and the landlords during the feudal system, raised "glorious civilizations" on the backs of the downtrodden masses of slaves and peasants. Despite the barbaric and exploitative character of these early social systems, they produced valuable contributions to mankind in the realm of science, technology and art. They were necessary stages in the social evolution of mankind and could not have been skipped over.

"THE MASSES ARE THE MAKERS OF HISTORY".

Up until our present era the history of the vast majority of mankind can best be summed up as a continuous series of revolts, (slave revolts, peasant uprisings, workers strikes) of the oppressed masses against the stranglehold of the ruling class minority. Throughout history, as social systems begin to decline and decay...revolutionaries emerge. A revolutionary is one who dares to hate the exploiting ruling class...dares to struggle for the overthrow of the unjust system. When the need for change is ripe, the masses respond to the call for revolution and change becomes irresistible. This has been proven as a law of history.

As revolutionaries today, we dare to hate the imperialists and dare to struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Capitalism as a social system marks an important stage in the development of the productive forces of mankind...machinery, science, technology, world-wide markets, communication and transportation...all these advances were only achieved in the wake of capitalism. However with capitalism, even more so than past exploitative systems, such advances are gained only at the expense of untold misery and plunder of the working class and oppressed peoples of the whole world.

Imperialist propaganda, education and culture tries to instill in the minds of the people that capitalism is the "most advanced social system" and "it will always continue to exist"... in other words, "revolution is impossible". But this does not conform to the facts. The capitalist system is only around 300 years old. Today, it is no longer a progressive and rising force (as it was 150 years ago), but rather it has turned into the most reactionary system and is in its period of decline and decay.

THE BASIC ANTAGONISM IN CAPITALISM

From the very beginning of the capitalist system, the worker and the capitalist face each other in a relationship that is antagonistic. The worker owns nothing except his "ability to work" (labor power), which he is forced to sell on the job market to the capitalist in return for wages (needed for the survival of himself

and his family). The worker actually produces the goods, but he has not the rights to the means of production nor the finished product...these have become the "private property" of the capitalist. The capitalist on the other hand does not work, but merely owns capital through which he can control both means of production and the worker. The capitalist appropriates to himself all the surplus value that comes from the production process and lives well off the profits. His sole reason for being "in business" is to increase his capital and make higher profits, but he can only do this by exploiting greater numbers of workers at higher and higher rates of exploitation... It is clear the working class can never be truly free from exploitation so long as the capitalist class continues to rule. The whole history of the development of the capitalist system is one in which this basic contradiction between the worker and the capitalist broadens and deepens until it encompasses the whole world...to the point when the two class forces stand opposed to each other in a life and death struggle...the working class (the proletariat) against the monopoly capitalist class (the bourgeoisie).

THE GROWTH OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Capitalism took dominance first in Europe, however the seeds of capitalism were present in many parts of the world wherever feudalism was declining (i.e. China, India, parts of Africa). Europe's initial advantage stems from the fact that she was relatively more backward than other civilized areas of the world in terms of handicrafts, spices, minerals, etc. Consequently, Europe developed extensive world-wide trade routes, shipping and navigational skills as well as military skills. This placed the merchants of Europe at a decisive advantage over those in other areas.

It is the merchant class that is the midwife of the capitalist system. They became the leading force in calling for the revolutionary overthrow of feudalism. As the feudal order broke up, the merchants gained more and more power, they became the rising class. Through their activities in trading and money-lending, they amassed great fortunes and made an ever increasing number of peasants and artisans (as well as landlords) dependent and indebted to them. This set the basis for the emergence of the manufacturing capitalist who had the wealth to buy the means of production and hire for wages the former peasants and artisans who were being forced off the lands and deprived of their tools (means of production).

As this new capitalist class grew in strength, it successfully carried out bourgeois revolutions and established itself as the ruling class. (This took place in Europe during the 16's, 17's and 1800's...the most famous revolutions of this type are the French and American, but similar ones took place in England, Holland, Germany, etc). These revo-

lutions set the political basis for the capitalist system to develop.

The early stage of capitalism was marked by the rapid development of manufacturing and industry and increased trade. Along with this however was the most brutal exploitation of the working class of Europe (men, women and children) and the outright plunder of the mineral and human resources of the colonies. For example, much of the surplus wealth of India, Africa, China, and Latin America was transferred to Europe -- this helped lay the capitalist foundations of Europe while at the same time retarded the possibility of capitalism developing in those other areas.

COMPETITION AND ANARCHY -- CAPITALISM'S LAW OF THE JUNGLE

Europe of the 1800's was wracked with wars and depressions. Capitalism was maturing and its ugly features were becoming sharper and sharper. The capitalist countries were engaged in a series of "trade wars" for the control of markets throughout the world. Within each country, the capitalists fought internal wars with each other in their vicious drive for profits. Intense competition resulted in severe depressions, one after another, throughout the 1800's. During each economic crisis it was of course the working class who suffered most -- thrown out of work and deprived of everything. But in each depression the weaker capitalists also "went under" -- bankrupt and forced to sell out to the stronger capitalists. The exploiters become fewer and fewer, bigger and bigger, more and more parasitic. The Big Bourgeoisie (Big Business) emerges as the ruling class -- capitalists who now own huge industries and control Big banks and commercial operations.

IMPERIALISM - THE HIGHEST AND FINAL STAGE OF CAPITALISM

This is the period in which we are living and fighting. It developed from the 1870's until today. Under imperialism, capitalism becomes a world system in which the imperialists not only exploit the workers of their own country, but also the oppressed peoples of the world. It is during this period that the U.S. developed as the leading imperialist power.

The imperialist stage of capitalism has general characteristics not found in earlier period. They are as follows: 1) Concentration on the means of production and money reaches such a point that industry, commerce and banking are controlled by a relative handful of monopoly capitalists -- competition begins to be replaced by cartels, trusts...Big Banks merge and annex smaller ones (For example, 3 banks and 150 corporations are all that is required now to control most of the productive forces of a whole country). The economic life of countries becomes determined by the "giants" for example: prices are "fixed", markets and profits "divided among the monopolies." 2) The financial merger of giant banks with monopoly industry resulting in the formation of a financial oligarchy---this is the highest development of the capitalist class. Such finance capitalists organize "financial groups" controlling extensive networks of banks and corporations through such methods as interlocking directorates; controlling stock holdings in "daugh-

ter" corporations, etc. The tenacles of the financial capitalist reach everywhere---seizing one thing after another--control of communications, raw material sources, etc. Finance capital concentrates and socializes the means of production as never before imagined. For example, the development of huge industrial plants, with extensive division of labor from one shop to another, and close interdependency of different sectors of the economy supplying the raw materials and transporting the finished products, etc. (All this organization, all this technology, and productivity, but not for the benefit of the society, rather for the purpose of increasing the power and profits of the capitalist class!) 3) In countries that had reached the stage of finance capital (England, U.S. France, Germany-1900), capitalism was becoming "over ripe". The monopolists seeking profitable investment opportunities begin large scale export of capital to the colonial world, (export of direct investments rather than goods as in the earlier capitalist period). Imperialists investments return superprofits due to the cheap land, labor and raw materials in the colonial areas. 4) The monopoly capitalists of different countries begin to form international cartels and agreements. They form "super-monopolies" in order to divide up the world into economic "spheres of influence" and to cooperate in gaining long range control over strategic raw materials in the Third World, i.e. Oil. 5) Parallel and interconnected with all of these things is the territorial division of the world among the imperialist powers (i.e. the state governments of the different monopoly capitalist classes). The first scramble for colonies during the age of imperialism was in the 1880's and 1890's. By this time in the U.S. the monopoly trusts were already established when the U.S. "grabbed" the Philippines and Puerto Rico while "claiming" all of Latin America as the "backyard of U.S. capitalism. The economic and political balance of power among these different imperialist powers changes at different historical periods because of the intense competition inherent within the capitalist class for more profits and power. At times like this, the imperialist fight with each other (sometimes openly as in WWII and I) for the redivision of the world. Although the U.S. has been the leading capitalist/imperialist power for some time, recent years have shown the growing sharp competition particularly with the Japanese and German monopoly capitalists.

With the development of imperialism the whole world became part of the capitalist system. Now there emerge oppressor and oppressed nations, because the colonial countries are forcibly kept at the "bottom rung" of this world capitalist system (raw material exporting/finished products importing). The stolen wealth of their societies is continually transferred to the imperialist countries, while their nations are kept in abject poverty and backwardness...Imperialism creates the basis for a world-wide revolution. The same class enemy faces the working masses of the whole world.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

The working class has emerged today as the leading revolutionary class through over 200 years of struggle under the capitalist system. In earlier period workers responded to their exploitation at the hands of the capitalist in individual and spontaneous ways. For example, in the 1600's there were massive riots of workers throughout Europe directed at destroying the weaving looms, because they mistakenly blamed their plight on the "new machines", rather than the capitalist who owned these machines.

However as capitalism develops so does the working class-- workers begin to gain an understanding of themselves--"as a class" in relationship to each other and in relationship to the capitalists. Workers in the same shop come together to fight for their survival...as industry grows, more and more workers become concentrated within "workers slums", within factories and industrial towns. The result is the historic emergence of the working class. This is manifested at first by the formation of workers associations...workers' demands for decent wages and conditions...strikes and workers demonstrations. Now the class struggle is out in the open. It is clear the workers must organize as a class in order to protect themselves from the "excesses" in exploitation of the capitalist class. This is the first stage in the development of the working class, commonly known as trade union consciousness. The working class arrives at this understanding through its own experiences in struggling against the capitalists for the basic rights of workers.

The highest stage of political development is when the working class arrived at the understanding of its historical revolutionary task to overthrow the capitalist system and establish socialism. The working class movement did not arrive at this stage of development simply through its own experiences in class struggle, it required the assistance of revolutionary socialist theory.

Karl Marx initially linked the struggles of the working class with the scientific theories of socialism and thereby raised the workers struggle to the level of a conscious revolutionary movement. Aided with the theoretical tools for analysing history and class forces the working class could now consciously take the lead in the revolutionary struggle of the period -- to eliminate the exploitative rule of the capitalists class and for the first time in the history of mankind establish a society where there is no longer exploitation of man by man. To assure this, the working class must become the ruling class and socialize the means of production.

In the course of the long and heroic struggle of the revolutionary working class there have been many valuable lessons learned and proven over and over again as true....this summed up experience composes the most advanced theory of the working class, and is an indispensable weapon for revolutionaries.

THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Today there are four principal contradictions in the world:

1). Between wars of national liberation and imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. This is where the class struggle is the sharpest and the revolutionary forces are developing most rapidly. The greatest blows against the reactionary capitalist system are being unfolded by the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. (i.e. the contradiction between the people of Indochina and the Philippines on the one hand and U.S. imperialism on the other.)

2). Contradiction among capitalist countries. The rapid decline of U.S. imperialism is accelerating and sharpening the competition between monopoly capitalist classes in different imperialist countries (i.e. contradiction between U.S. imperialism on the one hand and the expansion of Japanese monopoly capitalism on the other hand.)

3). Contradiction between the capitalist and socialist systems. This contradiction is clearly manifested by the progressive and revolutionary forces of socialist China (and other genuine socialist countries) opposing imperialist aggression and actively supporting the just struggles of the peoples of the world.

4). Contradiction between the proletariat and the monopoly capitalist class in the imperialist countries. As imperialism declines the class struggle in the capitalist countries will continue to become sharper and sharper.

Soviet Social Imperialism is a counter-revolutionary and reactionary force in the world today. The Soviet leaders speak of socialism and revolution, but they have given up the class struggle and in fact practice imperialist policies.

