

# Lesson II

Revolutionary Study & Proper Analysis

&

# Lesson III

The Mass Line





Contents

Revolutionary Study & Proper Analysis ..... 4

A. WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY STUDY? ..... 4

1. Why Is It Important to Study? ..... 4

2. Why Is It Important to Study the People’s Democratic Revolution? ..... 5

3. What is Investigation? ..... 5

4. What Is Analysis and Why Does It Matter? ..... 6

5. What is Assessment? ..... 6

6. What Is Summing Up? ..... 7

7. What is the complete process of analysis and revolutionary study? ..... 8

B. HOW DO WE ANALYZE THINGS AND EVENTS? ..... 8

1. What is the basis of correct analysis? ..... 9

2. Why Do We Say That All Things Change? ..... 9

3. What Are the Reasons Why Things Change? ..... 10

4. Why Do We Say “Divide One into Two” Is the Correct Way to Analyze? ..... 10

5. What is the main force that effects change on an object? ..... 12

6. Why is it necessary to consider the relationship of the whole and its parts”? ..... 13

7. How do things change? ..... 14

8. How do we solve contradictions? ..... 15

# Revolutionary Study & Proper Analysis

Revolutionary study is an important and integral part of the revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong said that “To behave like ‘a blindfolded man catching sparrows,’ or ‘a blind man groping for fish’, to be crude and careless, to indulge in verbiage, to rest content with a smattering of knowledge—such is the extremely bad style of work that still exists among many comrades in our Party.”

We need a surge in our revolutionary studies so that we can change our revolutionary movement for the better. Let us understand what is revolutionary studies and the proper way to analyze.

## A. WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY STUDY?

### 1. Why Is It Important to Study?

Studying is an important function and it is the responsibility of every revolutionary to continually raise their consciousness. It is very dangerous for the masses and for the revolution to leave everything to chance. Revolutionary struggle is not an aimless struggle guided by emotions. Every action depends on concrete study of situations and the needs of the revolution. If we study situations thoroughly, we can correctly pinpoint what we need to do, we can formulate plans and determine correct methods of work in carrying them out.

Studying gives us guidance in our struggle. It doesn't just teach or show the correct road in revolutionary struggle. It also shows us the way on how to live our everyday lives. Revolutionary studies also make us sharp in guarding against the ideas spread by the ruling class and other elements bent on seizing the revolutionary movement and leading it astray.

Revolutionary studies can be pursued by participating in collective discussions, reading revolutionary materials, ardent research, and analyzing all angles while planning and working.

Revolutionary study is a process of knowing and understanding of theories from reading materials—like the courses and theoretical works of Marx, Lenin, Mao and others. Proper analysis of present conditions and experiences is a very important part of revolutionary study.

The main frame of revolutionary studies is society and revolution. It involves ideas and theories that help clarify the condition of the classes and class struggle.

The reason why we study is to gather the loose ends of our struggle and change whatever it is that needs to be changed. Since we are struggling towards a free and democratic society, it is our primary concern to give importance to society and revolution. For example, we are studying the theories of classes in society and class struggle because the center, or focal point, of our struggle is understanding on how to transform our society. This is the guide of how we understand the conditions of Philippine society as a whole and the continuing line of our revolutionary struggle.

## 2. Why Is It Important to Study the People's Democratic Revolution?

We study the People's Democratic Revolution (PDR) because it shows the correct way to assess the conditions of Philippine society, the roots of the problems of the Filipino people and the way to solve these national problems. Revolution is a science. In our fight against the reactionary enemy, we need to be sharp in studying the rules of engagement of our revolution and how the masses can fight the enemy. By studying the PDR, we can keep the zeal of our struggle both bright and fiery. We can also solidify our unity with the oppressed masses.

The basic systemic classification of the PDR can be obtained from our mass courses. Mass courses clarify for us our need to struggle. Meanwhile, in the special courses we take, we study the advancement of our mass movement – more specifically, the workers, farmers, women and youth, as integral parts of the People's Democratic Revolution.

Revolutionaries must continuously study the PDR. While our struggle continues to intensify, our understanding of the PDR must also get sharper. The mass courses also must serve as a door to encourage us to read and study documents, journals and books to help keep our struggle in our hearts.

The book Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR), Struggle for National Democracy (SND) and Philippine Crisis and Revolution, are the primary tools we use in studying PDR. It is where we get awareness to our questions regarding the PDR by keeping the principles of our struggle inline. This is where we get guidance in our understanding and solving the problems of our political struggle.

We read and learn Philippine history when we read the PSR. By learning the Philippine history, we also understand about the advancement of Philippine society, the roots of national problems and the revolutionary struggle for freedom and democracy. We also need to study the history, problems and present conditions of the people of the territory in which we are currently situated.

It is very important to read Ang Bayan and other revolutionary journals to keep us abreast of the present economic and political situations and conditions of our society, its role in the revolution and to know the struggle in other sections and territories.

## 3. What is Investigation?

Investigation is a tool to obtain proper and correct information in relation to conditions. There is Social Investigation and investigation related to work, plans and programs.

The national social investigation is the study on classes in real life. This is a very important part in advancing our political work. In investigating the relationship of classes in the fields of economics, politics and culture in the lives of the people, we will see a concrete picture of society, or a part of society like the community. Social investigation is important to us because it clarifies the target, and ways and directions on how to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses.

The investigation on how we conduct our work, make plans and progress is realized by gathering data related to how we advance our work, for example, in the problems we face, the way our comrades and mass members work, and its results. Investigation is a very important part of

revolutionary studies. The correct and proper information we obtain as a result of our proper investigation is important and is needed as we can formulate correct decisions, plans and programs. Mao Zedong said, “No investigation, no right to speak.” If we do not investigate, we cannot hold correct and sufficient information. As a result, whatever decision we make in taking chances will just end up frustrated.

Investigation is never-ending work. We need to make it a part of ourselves. We need to start our studies by understanding we need to have correct and enough information and data. As a result, our knowledge will always spring forth and enrich our understanding of objective conditions.

#### 4. What Is Analysis and Why Does It Matter?

Analysis is an important and vital part of our studies. By analyzing, we are able to determine and hit the nature and character of the things and events that we study. We are able to present its roots and are therefore able to devise ways on how to improve it.

We are able to answer the questions “Why?” “How?” and “What are its characteristics and relationships?” By following proper analysis, we are able to have a deeper understanding on facts and experiences.

Analysis is very important in the revolutionary movement. The plans and progress of the movement are based on our analysis of how to make changes to pertinent conditions and how to advance our cause. By proper analysis, we are able to clarify how to properly and effectively face and solve difficulties that arise. Through proper analysis, we are able to determine how to work more effectively and do our tasks towards victory. We need to be observant. In whatever conditions we face, we need to be able to answer the question “What?” and most importantly “Why?” and “How?” This will help us discover the roots of the problems. We must not be subjective, imbalanced or one-sided. We must not be tricked by book covers when we analyze. We will be placed in an active position to be able to work effectively and advance our tasks. Analysis and investigation work continuously and together. Even though they are separate activities, they are interlinked in one process. After investigating, we analyze the gathered data. We formulate conclusions and decisions that we put in practice. We again investigate how to put these into action, analyze things that we did. Based on this, we are able to formulate another conclusion and decision so we can advance even more our revolutionary tasks.

#### 5. What is Assessment?

Assessment is a kind of analysis. This is an integral part of revolutionary study. There are 2 types of assessment that we do: Assessment of Work, and Assessment of Conditions. Assessment of Work is analyzing to measure where we stand or what our achievements in our plans and programs are. Assessment of Conditions meanwhile is analyzing the character of conditions and the level of class struggle in society.

An example of assessment of work is the monthly assessment that we do in preparation for reports. We list things that we’ve done, and those things that we still need to do, things accomplished and those we still have to, etc. We also make assessment after every mass work. We point out things that

we've done from those that still need to be done; what the things that we need to complete are; the weaknesses that we need to overcome and errors that we need to rectify; and the work that we still have to do.

An example of assessment of conditions is analyzing the balance of forces — the victories of our revolutionary forces on the one hand and the strength of the reactionary forces on the other hand. We are able to clarify the victories of revolutionary organizing and what else we need to do to fortify and advance the revolutionary force to fight in another time. We point out the strength, disposition and movement of the enemy and how can we weaken it. By doing this, we will be able to measure our own strength in advancing the struggle, and the strength of the enemy when they fight back.

Another example is how do we conduct assessment on economic conditions of farmers and farm workers in situations like after the flood to be able to make appropriate plans to help them in their needs.

Assessment needs to be done in a timely manner. It makes us open to conditions and needs of the movement, so that we will be able to promptly assign tasks. Assessment gives us the straight, concise and specific tools for planning correctly and carrying our tasks. If it shows from our constant assessment that the conditions have changed, we need to alter our plans of action according to the changed concrete conditions.

On the other hand, assessment planning is based on the level of work we reached. If this happens, we change the plan and action according to the changes and progress that we pointed out during the work assessment.

## 6. What Is Summing Up?

Summing up is analyzing both our positive and negative experiences in order to draw lessons. The conclusions we draw from our summings up are lessons that can guide us in our movement and struggle.

We learn from both positive and negative experiences. We uphold the lessons from positive experiences and consciously promote it. Meanwhile, we also learn from negative experiences but we try not to repeat it again.

There are many types of summing up depending on our needs and according to the present situation. We mainly sum-up the experiences we learn from how we mobilize the masses, and how

we lead the organization. One example is how we launch our mass campaigns. Here, we take lessons on how to correctly prepare and do mass work and conduct solid organizing in the barrios. After gathering data and results of action done in that particular period, we put into consideration:

- a) The advance, slowing down or reversal of the movement, then reassess the existing conditions, and the lessons drawn from this.
- b) The strengths, weaknesses and mistakes in the movement, the conditions and outlook that bring these into being, and the lessons derived from it.

From this, we can learn the requirements for the optimal performance of our tasks for successful actions. The overall lesson derived from this summing up will serve as a guide for a new level of planning and action. It gives us renewed confidence to do our work and advance our struggle. Summing up is an important part of our study.

Through this, we can effectively learn from our own experiences. We can actively use these experiences, both positive and negative, to advance our knowledge and understanding of our work and responsibilities. Through summing up, we can strengthen our understanding of our revolutionary principles based on experience.

## 7. What is the complete process of analysis and revolutionary study?

Let us learn the truth from our own experiences. Mao said, “‘Experiences’ are all things that objectively (concretely) happen: and ‘truth’ is their internal cohesiveness, those laws that affect them, and ‘research’ is the study part.”

Analyzing the condition and the struggle to change it is a continuing process. For example, particular barrio or village – arouse, organize and mobilize the masses to solve their problems. In every step and movement, we need to carefully study the conditions and the problems.

While we are still starting to penetrate one particular village, we need to study and analyze the history of the place, nature of the terrain, what main root crop is the source of its livelihood, what the problems of the peasants are, who the local landlords and their enemy agents are, etc. Based on initial survey and analysis, we can make step-by-step plans on how to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. We are guided by the theories of the People’s Democratic Revolution, like Class Analysis.

When we act on our plans, we continue to investigate and analyze the conditions. More information is added. We are able to confirm the main conditions, while we separate these from erroneous ones. We are able to analyze according to practice, the results of our actions whether these are right or wrong. We are continuously sharpening the whole condition so that we can determine and act on its changes. Based on newer, richer and more precise ideas and conclusions, we reassess our plans and modify our actions to streamline the change we want according to the present situation. We rectify our past errors, correct false can also consolidate and strengthen what we concluded to be true and correct ideas and actions.

If we are able to gather enough experience, we can conclude our entire experience to be able to gather deeper lessons. These lessons will serve as guides in newer and higher stages of struggle.

An important part of this whole process is the analysis of our own strength: analysis of the whole unit in one’s own struggle and condition, and the analysis of own struggle and each individual’s work. This is where criticism and self-criticism comes in.

## B. HOW DO WE ANALYZE THINGS AND EVENTS?

It is through analysis that we are able to deeply understand why things and events work. The conclusions that are formed by correct analysis guides us in the most important step in our study – putting it in practice. Let us therefore study how we analyze things and events.



## 1. What is the basis of correct analysis?

The correct way to analyze is based on concrete, active, true or objective conditions and events. It means that it is not based on fantasies, dreams, rumors, superstitions and other possibilities with no concrete basis. Concrete analysis out of concrete conditions is the only valid method to analysis.

Oftentimes it is difficult to make the right conclusion. For example, it may be difficult to determine the true nature or cause of a problem because we are lacking concrete facts. For instance, we may be possessing incorrect or subjective data. In this instance, there is a need to extend and deepen the investigation into the circumstances.

More often, it is hard to obtain correct conclusions even if there is enough or even more than enough data collected. In relation to this, it might also be due to the lack of applying principles learned in studies that we are not able to tie up the loose data.

It can also happen that we will generate wrong conclusions as a result of wrong analysis, even if the data is enough. By this experience, it is common that erroneous analysis is a result of wrongly processing the data.

We need to start with true, actual and concrete data of events. Study the relationship of data, events, etc. Which is more important? Which one is not? Which one is true and which one is false? What is the chain of events?

These are the basis of true analysis.

## 2. Why Do We Say That All Things Change?

All things change. There is no way that we can say that one thing is made or complete and therefore, cannot be changed. If we look at our surroundings, the environment and society, we can see that things change, even the people. Everything has a time to be born, live, and die. There are changes that are slow and there are those that are fast. Change happens as a whole, continual process from its birth to its death.

Many people believe that a lot of things cannot change or are impossible to be changed. One reason is that all change is not easy to see; it takes a long process to see the expected change. This idea is usually spread by the ruling class. For example, they say that it is impossible to change the condition between the rich and the poor in society. We know that this is not true and that this idea is spread by the ruling and oppressive class so that they can keep the masses from waging revolution. Many also believe that if things change, it is simply a transfer of position, an increase in numbers, or a repetition. For example, the only things seen in the history or development of society are the migration of people, population increase, the change of a new generation, or the actions of "great leaders." Such a view denies the underlying or revolutionary changes taking place in history, such as changes in the economic, political and cultural system of society.

A person's knowledge is a byproduct of their constant study of change and movement. A person's progress is their knowledge proportionate to the progress in society. There is an advancement in one's knowledge in analysis, coexistent with one's understanding of the reason for change. It is only

through one's progress in one's knowledge that one can actively and effectively do things to advance one's revolutionary work.

This also helps a person find a way out of difficult situations by having an iron will to press on in the face of problems and difficult situations. This teaches us that if we correctly assess our conditions, we will be able to understand how we will solve each problem and difficult situation that will come our way.

### 3. What Are the Reasons Why Things Change?

Everything has two opposing forces that continue to fight. This is called contradiction. The character of things is dictated by contradictions and the progression and change in things are also dictated by the constant struggle of power within the given contradiction. Therefore, change in things is internal and not external.

For example, why does Philippine society advance and change? Is it fate that dictates it? The climate of the land? Is it help from other territories? No. Change in society is a result of its internal contradictions: the struggle of its classes. On one side is the ruling and oppressive class that prevents the advancement of the country, and at the other side is the oppressed class that demands progress, freedom and democracy.

External conditions influence change. No thing exists that is separate from its surroundings. Its movement is relative to other things that exist that can either hasten or slow its progress.

For example, our comrade's progress is a result of continuing internal struggle between correct and wrong ideas. In the fight for the national and democratic aspirations of the people versus anything that wants to oppose it, it is up to each comrade to press on with the revolutionary struggle or just be passive and do nothing. However, there are other important external influences that may affect the given comrade: his collective, family and loved ones, the masses he meets in his area, etc.

In the first example, the progress of the Philippine society rests primarily on the struggle of the people against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism that is sharply mirrored by the revolution. The advance and victory of the revolution cannot be based on external forces like victory of the struggle in other countries or the help of other comrades. Though, the conducive external conditions and the help of other comrades to the Philippine revolution are important and can definitely help us attain our goals of revolutionary victory.

This understanding teaches us to be wary or not to be skin deep in our analysis. To be able to understand one thing, we must be able to study its internal character, and its relationship to other things. We must be able to study the data we collected and separate what is right from what is wrong. We must be able to study the internal contradictions and how they are influenced by the external contradictions.

### 4. Why Do We Say "Divide One into Two" Is the Correct Way to Analyze?

The correct method of analysis? "Dividing one into two" simply means studying the contradictions in things. This is going to the core of things, to study its character and opposition between aspects of

contradictions. We study its movement and progress, its forms and the ways by which contradictions struggle, bits rise and fall, action and counter-action, etc. This is the proper way to study.

This reminds us not to be one-sided in our analysis. Being one-sided means only looking at one aspect of a thing or contradiction. This also means favoring one aspect of the contradiction. This may also mean laziness in studying the two aspects of contradiction and how the two oppose each other.

For example, when we criticize a comrade, we look at her or his positive and negative characteristics. In our investigation of one barrio, we study the peasants and farm workers on the one hand and the landlord in the other hand. In our analysis of society, we both look at the exploited and oppressed classes and the exploiting and oppressing classes.

To know the essence or nature of one thing, we must know which among its two aspects act as its principal. This is important because the principal aspect is the one that dictates the nature of things. Whatever we analyze, we must immediately center on its very nature: studying the contradictions, studying its opposing force and character that dictates its movement, and determining which aspect acts as the principal one. With our comrades for example, we analyze the contradictions of their way of thinking both positive and negative, the revolutionary from non-revolutionary. We can therefore clearly define the principal character – the positive, correct and revolutionary.

When we analyze our movement, we also analyze what we've so far accomplished, from things we still have to do, and at what level have we met our goal; our strengths and weaknesses, etc. We also need to point out which one stands out.

In analyzing the contradictions, we use the help of comparison and differentiating it from other contradictions. The contradictions in one barrio for example, can be compared and differentiated with the contradictions of other barrios. By comparing, we are able to analyze the common character that is present in the contradiction we are studying and in those other contradictions. This will help us to immediately focus on analyzing the essence of things, which help us understand further the similarities and differences in contradictions and things.

In differentiating, we are able to study different characteristics present in other contradictions. In differentiating, we are able to form and beef up our understanding of the things we analyze. This is important to enable us to generate accurate and appropriate solutions for how we should act.

For example, when we analyze an agricultural community, we know that its contradictions are the same as those of the rest of the agricultural communities in the Philippines. That is why it is very important to wage the agrarian revolution in the barrio and studying the experience of other places that we read in Ang Bayan can help us fulfill that goal. On the other hand, there are different forms and ways of land rent and usury, the power of influence of the landlords, of the overseer. The military force varies and the size and strength of the mass movement in the barrio and the readiness of the masses vary too. That is why it is not good to copy all the steps employed by other territories in lowering the land rent.

It is important to know our history. When we investigate our comrade, we investigate their class background, their family, how they got involved and the history of their struggle. When we analyze

Philippine society, it is very important to know its history, to know the historical root of its current condition, to enable us to understand its basic character.

“Dividing one into two” is the proper way to conduct an analysis. We first try to study and learn the two aspects that form the contradiction, and then we try to determine which one is the dominant or principal one. We compare things from one to the other to know the essence that is common to both of them. We also need to study how the contradictions thrive in them.

## 5. What is the main force that effects change on an object?

The effect or process that we study is complicated. It means that it has different contradictions. We need to study its different contradictions – the two aspects of contradictions, and the relationship of these contradictions from one another – to prevent us from becoming one-sided.

Among its many contradictions, there is one that is decisive to the object and process. The contradiction is the common denominator that strings, connects and affect the progress of other contradictions.

It is therefore the key to understand the character of one particular complicated thing or process and how it exists and flourishes.

We first need to study different contradictions before we know the principal contradiction. It is one-sided and subjective to study only one contradiction even though this is the principal or decisive contradiction. It is not clear if it can indeed be the principal contradiction if we cannot see how it is related to the other existing contradictions.

For example, there will be many contradictions when we investigate one particular barrio. There will be the contradiction between rich peasants, poor peasants and farm workers. There will be the contradiction between the landlords and rich peasants. There will be the contradiction between the peasants and businessmen. There will be contradictions between peasants themselves.

In this barrio, the principal contradiction is between the landlord on the one hand, and the tenants and farm workers on the other hand. This is the main force that influences the other contradictions in the barrio. It is also important to study other contradictions to enable us to see the whole picture, and how these contradictions relate to one another.

In simple things and processes, the principal or dominant aspect of a contradiction determines the nature of a thing. In complex things or processes, the principal aspect of the principal contradiction is the main determining factor of the nature of a thing, of its essence.

In the given example, the landlord has an upper hand over the tenants and farm workers. He can conduct usury and dictate the rent for the land and the salary he wants to give to the tenants and farm workers. This can influence the other contradictions. This condition can be the basis for the abuse and oppression between the businessperson or usurer and the poor farmers and farm workers. The influence of the big landlord can define the character and condition of the barrio we are investigating.

By knowing the principal contradiction, we clear the way for us to solve other lesser contradictions. In the example mentioned, we face the struggle between the rich peasants, on the one hand, and the poor peasants and the farm workers, on the other, in relation to the destruction of the big landlord. Meaning, we are able to neutralize them and not overly hurt their interest so that they are not going to side with the landlord and instead support the struggle of the poor farmers and farm workers.

We learn from this that in complex things and processes that have a lot of contradictions, the principal contradiction is the decisive factor in the way things work and the principal aspect of the principal contradiction is the primary factor in the nature of a thing. This teaches us that in analysis, we study the contradictions that comprise the object; analyze contradictions as to which is the primary one and how it strongly influences other contradictions and; study the aspects and define which among the two aspects is the principal. We also need to study secondary contradictions and their aspects.

## 6. Why is it necessary to consider the relationship of the whole and its parts”?

When we analyze something, we need to relate it to the whole so that we won’t become one-sided and be biased in the decisions that we draw. On the other hand, we must be able to form and place everything in a much deeper context if we are to critically analyze its parts.

Everything that we analyze is part of a greater whole. We need to relate the relationship of things we study in its “wholeness.” We need to point out how it influences the progress of the whole. By doing this, we will be able to better understand how things evolve.

For example, one barrio that we control is a part of the municipality and province. If there is province-wide increase in military presence, it is also reflected or felt in the barrio that we control in the presence of CAFGUs<sup>1</sup> and an increase in military operations.

Another example is the movement of our group and the organizing committee in the barrio. The plans that we make depend on the plans of the section and district. In our assessment, we take notice of the effect and influence of our guides as we move along with other works in the given municipality and section.

Our analysis must also give importance in the study of its parts. We need to be more conclusive and deep in our understanding and evade shallow analysis.

When we analyze, it is not enough to say that we are good in the overall movement of our work. We need to deeply assess the flow of different groups and the way we do our tasks in educating, organizing and mobilizing the masses. By doing this, our analysis will be clearer and more realistic according to our plans and programs.

Another example is our way of assessing the mass work of a particular organizing group in a particular barrio.

This kind of analysis will give us a better picture of the whole by clearly understanding its parts.

---

<sup>1</sup> “Citizen Armed Force Geographical Unit” an anti-insurgency auxiliary of the Philippines army

## 7. How do things change?

There is contradiction from the beginning to the end of everything. It is important to study the progress of contradictions in the whole process to be able to understand and point to the character of things and how it proceeds. Progress advances quantitatively and qualitatively.

At first, one aspect of the contradiction weighs more than the other corresponding aspect. This dominant aspect is the one that gives character to the thing. The Philippines for example is semi-feudal and semi-colonial because it is being governed by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

But this is not eternal. Contradictions exist change and strength continue to exist and influence the two contradictory forces, sometimes it can be seen, and at times it is hidden. This is quantitative change. We seem not to see the change but often only see simple changes in the form or the outward conditions of things. There may also be no change in the position.

For example, in the Philippines, the class struggle can be seen in changes such as in the increase in unemployment, the escalation in the number of strikes and other forms of actions and an increase in the strength of the people's army and so on. The people continue to fight the exploitation and oppression that is being forced upon them by the State. Meanwhile the ruling class continues to intensify their exploitation and oppression and its abuse and deception towards the marginalized sector and the people. The intensity of the strug

gle and the balance of forces continue to change, but not the condition of society. No changes occur in the basic relationship in the classes of society. That's one reason why Philippine society will remain to be semi-feudal and semi-colonial.

There will be a qualitative change if there's

change in position between two aspects. If the secondary aspect continues to surge forward, there will come a time that the primary aspect will become weaker and will be overrun by the secondary historically weak aspect. This change can be sudden and drastic. This is called a degree of qualitative change. The exchange of position of dominance in the conflicting aspects will usher in a leap that changes the nature of things. Now there is a new dominant aspect in the nature of things.

As a result of the change in the balance of

forces, qualitative change in the current Filipino society will come after the victory of the national-democratic revolution. The classes that used to rule, oppress and exploit will now be ruled, and the classes that once were ruled, oppressed and exploited will now rule. There will be a revolutionary change in Philippine society, fundamental changes in the politics, economy and culture of the people.

We need to analyze what the quantitative change serves. The quantitative change that serves the principal aspect will not lead to qualitative change. At the same time, the quantitative changes that serve the secondary aspect will lead to qualitative changes.



Let us look at reforms, for example. Reformism is different from revolutionary struggle. Reforms only bring surface level changes and do not contribute to bringing changes in the basic structure of society. At times, it can even bring delay. Meanwhile, the revolutionary struggle for reforms while working for change makes the revolution stronger and serves the revolutionary change. The difference can even be seen in the goals and means of bringing in the type of issues and struggles. For example – an increase in the price of farm products and the fight against the increase in oil prices; reformism does not go to the root of the problem of why this is happening and the relationship of the State to these problems.

In addition, we are able to classify the quantitative and qualitative changes to advance qualitative changes in things and events.

For example, in organizing a union in a factory, we need to estimate if our organizing level is enough or not so that we can decide if we can openly fight and forward the struggle to project our union. At the same time, we also need to estimate if farmer groups have enough strength to face oppressive companies to lessen rent to the land. If the analysis is poorly done, we might get into a struggle that we are not capable of winning, or we will waver in our decision to enter a struggle that is actually within our reach.

Another example. In the process of advancing the People's Democratic Revolution, the revolutionary forces should, step-by-step, gather strength while we weaken the reactionary enemy at the same time. It needs to attain the level of political and military strength that the balance will turn to the level where we are ready to grab political power. To dream of premature military victory without first readying the political maturity will surely give us failure.

Proper understanding teaches us how things change, its progress towards quantitative and qualitative changes, the proper analysis of the form and strength of the opposing forces, the intensity of contradiction, recognizing how quantitative lead to qualitative changes, and the understanding of how conditions can be used to attain qualitative changes.

## 8. How do we solve contradictions?

The character of one thing changes as there's a qualitative change that occurs between the principal and secondary aspects of the contradiction. Conflicting conditions inside the contradictions end. This gives way to new contradictions and new things with new conditions. As new aspects form out of the old ones, quality changes and becomes something new.

For example, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of Philippine society will change in the victory of the People's Democratic Revolution and in the defeat of the armed power of US imperialism, comprador bourgeoisie and big landlords. The aforementioned rotten and reaction aspects previously dominant throughout Philippine society will become secondary and the Filipino people and the revolutionary leadership of the working class and its Party will be in control. The result will be the dismantling of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial state of the Philippines and the ushering of a socialist society.

Another example: we promote the Agrarian Revolution in solving the contradictions between the rich landlord and the farm workers. If we are able to maximize enforcing the agrarian reform program, we are able to solve the contradictions, dismantle the landlord form power and will be able to erase feudalism. At the same time, new problems will sprout up in relation to agricultural cooperation and collectivization.

It is a vital part of our studies to understand how to solve these contradictions. The contradictions that differ in quality can be solved using different qualitative ways. For example, the contradictions between the rich landlord and farm workers can only be solved by the agrarian revolt; the contradiction between the imperialists and landlords versus the toiling Filipino people can only be solved by employing the People's Democratic Revolution. The struggle between the farmers and farm workers can be solved by increasing the salary according to the level of struggle against feudalism; and the contradiction between the people can be solved by clarifying what is right from what is wrong.

The things we assess are those that continue to move, progress and change. Our understanding of how things change is very important to be able to make a proper analysis. Let us retrace a little bit. All things change and the reason why it changes is inside of it, in its contradictions and the internal struggle of the opposing aspects that exist throughout the process from its beginning to its end. External forces can influence it and stand in the way of change. The principal aspect of the contradiction determines the nature of the thing. A simple object can be complicated and can be made up of different contradictions, and the principal contradiction determines the primary character of the object. The contradiction never stops and goes through a gradual period and qualitative change. The secondary aspect gets stronger and the primary aspect gets weaker overtime until it reaches the point where there is a complete change in position. This is the qualitative change, the change in the nature of things. The old contradiction gets solved. A new one emerges.

This teaches us the proper way to analyze — going back to a concrete basis, “dividing one into two parts”; classifying the internal and external parts; the necessity of studying all contradictions that compose one complicated matter; pointing out the principal contradiction and its principal aspect to know the character of things; the relationship between the primary and secondary contradictions; pointing at the principal and secondary aspect of every contradiction and how they struggle; how quantitative change occurs; how the whole represents the parts; and how the contradictions get solved, giving way to newer contradictions. To this effect, we will be able to understand not just the character and nature of things, but also how can we change it. In short, this teaches us the importance of concrete analysis in concrete conditions.



## The Mass Line

1. Why is it that “the masses, and the masses only, are the makers of history” is the guiding principle of the mass line?

The principle “The masses, and the masses only, are the makers of history” is a principle born out of scientific means using deep analysis of human history. Comrade Mao said, “The masses, and the masses alone, are the motive force of world history.” Many centuries of human history time and again have shown that it is the masses that create change in society. It is through their work in production that feeds society. It is through their brains and brawn that brings progress to society in general. It is through their collective strength that prevents any force that wants to undermine the progress of society. These problems in society can be manifested in forms of economic crisis whose brunt is mostly born by the toiling masses. If you cannot move the masses, there will be no underlying change in society. This is what is meant when we say the masses are the real heroes.

The principle “the masses, and the masses only, are the makers of history” is the basic principle of mass line because it explains in a scientific manner why we need to fully trust the masses and why we have to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle and in advancing our revolutionary tasks.

This is the strong and scientific basis in the proper attitude of the masses, of a persistent and resilient struggle of the masses and the Party’s humble relationship with them. This is the strong and scientific basis of how we can counter or fight the wrong principles of trusting only a small group of people, of being bossy, of bearing all the work, etc.

2. What Does It Mean That We Need to Trust and Rely on the Masses?

We must firmly grasp within ourselves that the Revolution is one endeavor shared by the wide mass of people. If the masses do not actively participate, the victory of the revolution can never be achieved. We need to trust the masses, especially the farmers and workers to win the People’s Democratic Revolution.

It is through the active participation and action

of the masses that we can achieve our revolutionary aims and solve the problems that will come along the way. There is therefore a need to go to the masses, unite with them and effectively lead them. It is through persistent and continuous arousing, organizing and mobilizing of the masses that we can concretize to them the strength of our revolutionary ideas that will become a powerful material that will push the movement of society for the better.

Comrade Mao said, we need “to be good at translating the Party’s policy into action of the masses, to be good at getting not only the leading cadres but also the broad masses to understand and master every movement and every struggle we launch.”

### 3. What Does Close and Warm Relationships with the Masses Mean?

The mass line means that we should maintain a close relationship with the masses. First, we need to integrate in our hearts the interest of the masses. We need to make sure that all comrades are tightly connected to the masses and place their interest to the masses above all things. The mass line teaches us that we must love the masses at all times. We must always listen to them and integrate with them instead of putting ourselves above them.

In integrating with the masses, we are able to

arouse them and elevate their level of understanding, help them learn how to organize themselves and collate all essentials in their present condition and struggle. We need to give notice to the interest of the masses; their basic problems like landlessness, high rents, low wages, etc. — all these, and even their particular problems like lack of rice to eat, salt to give flavor to their food, etc. We

need to assess these problems and make proper decisions related to these problems.

By doing this, we can show to the masses that we embody their interest and our lives are connected to theirs. It is through this understanding that we can help them understand bigger tasks related to the advancement of the revolutionary struggle towards victory.

Nothing will happen to the struggles of one

leading group if it is not closely related and combined in the action of the masses that can only be realized through close relationship with them. On the other hand, if only the masses move without the strong leadership of the Party, they cannot sustain that struggle nor steer it in the proper direction or raise it to a higher level of revolutionary struggle.

### 4. What does “from the masses to the masses” mean?

The proper way to lead the masses is “from the masses, to the masses.” This means that we need to collate the fragmented ideas and thoughts of the masses and mold it properly. We need to return and explain to the masses the formed idea until they understand and accept it.

The mass line agrees with the “from the

masses, to the masses” leadership. We depend on the intellect and knowledge of the masses to be

able to understand the masses’ conditions and problems so that we can generate ideas on how to solve them. Correct planning and decisions can be made if it is part of the experience of the masses. It is therefore our role to go to the masses and immerse ourselves in their midst to be able to gather the different lines of thinking of the masses we want to serve. In analyzing and summing up these ideas, we can concentrate it in one systematic whole that mirrors an objective condition and intellect of the masses.

We need to rely on the capability and strength

of the masses if we want to help them solve their basic problems. We trust that however big is the problem is, we are sure that we can solve it as long as the masses have unity and collective decisions. It is then our responsibility to let the masses understand that the ideas that are formed are the results of their very own ideas, and they need to embrace them as their own and realize them through collective action.

5. What does it mean that we need to act and move according to the interest and readiness of the masses?

The mass line teaches us that we need to struggle according to the objective interest of the masses. This means that we need to move according to their concrete conditions and needs and

not according to what we think. We will get separated from the masses even if our intentions are good, if we deviate from the objective interests of the masses. In general, the tasks and protocols that we put up are correct if it is accorded to what the masses want according to the present time and space.

At first, the masses are not yet aware of their

objective needs and do not realize the need for change or are not yet ready to make a step for that change. If we do not present our ideas in a timely manner, however correct they may be, we will separate ourselves from them. We need to be patient and persistent in the way we explain things to the masses until the time that they are ready to accept these ideas based on concrete conditions and the masses themselves are ready to work for the change that they want.

We need to be guarded against commandism —

this means over-estimating the actual political awareness of the masses and violating the voluntary movement of the masses. Comrades will only discover the level of preparedness of the masses if they go to ranks of the masses and conduct an investigation.

On the other hand, we also need to be wary of tailism of the masses. This means slow progression of their level of political consciousness and the backwardness of their level of struggle for rev-

olutionary change. Some comrades may be following some slow elements; it is wrong to think that what their views are the views of the whole broad masses.

To be able to destroy commandism and tailism, we need to bring ourselves closer to the basic masses and conduct proper investigation and analysis. How do we do this?

We can divide masses into three parts: the advanced, the middle, and the backward. The advanced ranks of the masses have a clear understanding of their basic conditions and are ready to struggle to change it. The backward part of the masses meanwhile can be easily influenced by backward ways of thinking and may be resistant to struggle for change. The middle part meanwhile may understand the need for change but are reluctant and hesitant to move for action.

We trust the advanced elements of the mass

movement. It is through them that we are able to make the middle force move and can even coax some of the backward forces. This way, we are able to lead the masses according to their objective interest depending on their readiness to struggle for change.

If we do not depend on the readiness of the

masses, we might pass their basic political consciousness and awareness. We might make them move by ordering them around, and not by their

free will according to their understanding. At the same time, if we tie ourselves to the greater numbers but backward masses, we will be tailing instead of leading them. It might happen that the advanced and middle masses are ready and are calling to struggle for change, and it ends up that the Party is the one that needs convincing.

We need to be consistent in elevating the revo-

lutionary consciousness of the masses. This means that we need to be at the forefront in giving revolutionary education so that the masses will continue to elevate their level of readiness to struggle and fight. In relation to this, we are also able to strengthen, solidify and broaden the organized strength of the masses so that there will be an elevated level of their struggle towards victory.

6. Why is the propagation of the line of the People's Democratic Revolution the key in giving life to the mass line in the current period of the Philippine revolution?

The line of the People's Democratic Revolution (PDR) was formed from studying the history and conditions of Philippine society. This answers to the interest of the nation for freedom and democracy. The PDR springs from objective conditions and needs of the masses and points towards the path of revolutionary change. And because it follows the objective interest of the masses, the line

of the PDR is easily understood by the masses, and is easily embraced as their own.

The line of the PDR is the key to effectively arouse, organize and mobilize the millions of exploited masses. In studying the particular conditions, problems and outlooks of the masses in the area of discipline, we need to guide it according to the line of the PDR.

7. Why is democratic style of work important in living the mass line?

Aside from the correct line of the PDR that we employ in our everyday practice, the democratic style of work is important in living the mass line. Experience clearly shows us that the correct style of work strengthens our connection to the masses, while the wrong style of work runs opposite to the wishes and needs of the masses in an established time, which may be a reason of our detachment from the masses.

We need to make decisions after we do proper

investigation and consultation with other comrades and masses and after proper collective discussions. It is not enough that only the leadership understands the decision that was made. We need to convey it to the masses and make them understand so that they can be an active participant in following these decisions.

We need to effectively unite as one majority with the comrades and the masses. We need to listen to the masses and accept the correct observations and criticize what is erroneous. We need to avoid working in small groups. We need to cultivate the democratic style of work at all times.

8. Why does the mass line correspond to the revolutionary class line?

Who composes the Filipino masses? Who are the masses that need to be aroused, organized and mobilized? These questions can be answered only if we analyze the classes and understand the revolutionary class line.

The revolutionary class line is the principle that teaches us to know the dynamics and relationship of classes in Philippine society. It teaches us who are the friends from the enemies of the revolution and who are the exploited and oppressed classes. It also clarifies the correct class analysis of how can we lead the masses: trusting the advanced ranks of masses, encouraging the middle forces and separating and fighting the enemies. We also take advantage of the strife among the enemy so that we can further weaken the ruling class and strengthen our own revolutionary forces.

Overall, the revolutionary class line teaches us

to give importance to the strength of the working

countryside, we give importance to the advanced ranks of farm workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants. We also bring into the fold the middle and upper-middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants. We also take advantage of the strife occurring among the enlightened and despotic landlords. Through this, we can effectively separate and weaken the landlord class. It is through the revolutionary class line that there can be a scientific way of recognizing who composes the masses in one particular place.

