

ANG BAYAN

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS  
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO ZEDONG

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PHILIPPINES

## **EDITORIAL**

### **AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST PROPOSAL FOR PEACE**

Early this year, the National Democratic Front forwarded to the entire nation and the Aquino government a fresh and bold proposal for peace: a declaration of unilateral ceasefire on its part provided the Aquino government adopts as policy the dismantling of the US military bases by 1991.

The Communist Party of the Philippines fully supports the NDF's anti-imperialist proposal for peace. The Party considers the proposal as wholly in accord with the aspiration of the Filipino people for national independence and national dignity and consistent with their decades-long struggle to free the Filipino nation from US imperialist stranglehold.

The NDF's proposal is the latest in a series of important moves sincerely and earnestly taken by the revolutionary front to address the problem of civil war and peace in the country within the only framework which can provide genuine and long-lasting solutions to it -- a comprehensive resolution of the basic problems of the country, which are US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

Indissolubly linked to the entire question of US economic and political domination of the country, the issue of the US military bases is at the core of the national question. It is one fundamental question which lies behind the raging civil war.

Though in a less direct manner, but in no less significant proportion, the bases issue is tied up to the social question of mass poverty and the general backwardness of the nation. Ever since US imperialism's bloody arrival on our shores, it has consistently sustained feudal and semifeudal exploitation in the country and stunted national industrialization. The US military bases and the US interventionist troops therein are instruments to ensure success for US imperialism's exploitative aims in the Philippines.

Of course, it cannot be presumed that once the US bases are removed the domestic structures of injustice will readily crumble, along with the entire system of US imperialist domination and control in our country. But this is not what the NDF proposal wishes to point out.

What the NDF is saying, and has been saying all along, is that the only correct approach to finding a genuine and lasting solution to the problem of the present civil strife is to attack it at its roots. The crisis that brings about the civil war is systemic. Thus, the removal of the US bases can only be a starting point, though a very meaningful one.

The NDF proposal, far from diminishing the whole weight and impact of the armed struggle, in fact highlights what the armed struggle stands for. It is in sharp contrast to the hypocritical stance of the present regime which equates the armed conflict with pure, naked violence but obfuscates the fact that the government and exploiting classes have been unleashing violence, now called total war, against the people in defense of the unjust status quo.

The NDF proposal is an appeal to the patriotic sentiments of the broadest array of Filipinos, including those in the upper strata of society, to assert their nationhood against those who want the Motherland to be forever on her knees and her children forever at war with each other. It is an appeal to use patriotism as a living force to lift our country and the masses of our people from centuries-old poverty, injustice and backwardness.

The NDF proposal is correct in principle, is in line with popular sentiment and is a reasonable starting point for a sincere search for peace. The Party challenges the Aquino government to accept the NDF's anti-imperialist proposal for peace.

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### **JAPAN'S OFFICIAL AID: WHO'S REALLY AIDING WHOM?**

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Japanese official aid to the Philippines is making a most dramatic turn: its volume is rapidly rising; and more significantly, its application is taking a new strategic thrust. It has gone beyond its traditional role of facilitating the net outflow of resources from the country -- to that of funding counter-revolution.

This is one result of the combined reaction of the United States and Japan in the face of "growing political and economic instability in the Philippines" which, from the standpoint of their strategic security interests, threatens imperialist hegemony in this part of the world.

In January 1985, Japan and the United States agreed to coordinate their respective foreign aid policies at the highest level.

The point of coordination zeroed in on marshalling official development assistance (ODA) or government resources intended as foreign aid for selected countries which are "strategically important to the West" and are "threatened by communist insurgency."

In keeping with the agreement, Japan made the necessary adjustments in its subsequent ODA plans and set forth the rationale for sustaining the increases in the volume of its ODA and for promoting ODA among countries in "unstable regions to prevent them from turning to communism."

In October 1987, amid the intermittent deterioration of US finances on one hand, and the rapid accumulation of Japanese capital surplus on the other, Japan was called upon to enlarge its contribution to the burden-sharing of maintaining the world capitalist system by expanding its ODA.

In June 1988, Japan drew up its 1988-1992 ODA plan, setting a \$50-billion target during the period or double the 1983-1987 figure.

Today, Japan has emerged as the world's leading donor of ODA, and is becoming, alongside the US, a key determinant to the development of many a Third World economy.

### **Japan's global ODA**

In 1987, the aggregate amount of Japan's ODA reached \$7.454 billion, a world record next only to the US'. In 1988, Japan gained the ODA ascendancy by setting aside \$10 billion for the year, topping the US' 1988-1989 budget of \$8.7 billion.

The dramatic increases in Japan's ODA in recent years can be largely attributed to the remarkable appreciation of the yen since September 1985, more than reflecting Japan's competitive economic strength.

Thus, with burgeoning capital surplus made even more formidable by a stronger currency, Japan's share in the world's total resource flows (ODA plus other government funds, private investments and loans) to developing countries had risen to 24.3% or \$20.46 billion by 1987, the highest based on comparative estimates.

Likewise, the number of developing countries where Japan had stood as the biggest ODA giver had increased from six in 1970 to 13 in 1975, and to 25 in 1986.

"A situation is arising where Japan's aid has become an essential part of the development plan in many countries and without the smooth flow of assistance funds from Japan, implementation of the development plan will be hampered," Japanese officialdom beamed while presiding over the allocation and distribution of ODA in the coming years.

### **ODA program goals and policies**

Officially, Japan's foreign aid program is geared towards realizing the twin goals of promoting "global economic growth through the economic development of developing countries" and contributing "to peace and stability in the international community." However, the approach to the implementation of the program may be altered based on "the changing environment."

In providing development assistance, diplomatic considerations in promoting bilateral relations are always taken into account. And in order to accentuate the diplomatic effect, it is said that "each aid project must contribute to the economic and social development of the recipient countries." For which reason, two-thirds (for a time, 100%) of Japanese ODA go to Asian countries. (Similarly, the US sends 40% of its aid package to Israel and Egypt; France allots one-third to its overseas territories and another one-third to its former colonies.)

Traditionally, Japanese ODA is used mainly to finance infrastructure projects in Asian countries linked to the promotion of Japanese exports (i.e. heavy machineries) and procurement of raw materials (i.e. ores, logs). In recent years, however, non-project-type aid employed as stopgaps in balance of payments and budget deficits (i.e. commodity loan) has also risen to prominence in the light of the current international debt crisis.

### **ODA through the years**

In the '50s and '60s, reparations and ODA loans were extensively used only to pay for Japanese exports and subsidize the efficient dispatch of Japanese raw material requirements (so-called tied aid). Very high, therefore, in the ratio of ODA disbursements were for economic infrastructures (i.e. roads, bridges, ports), energy, communication and transportation.

In the '70s, Japan's penetration of Asian economies via ODA and the link-up of trade with aid came under fire. Japan was

then compelled to clarify the basic philosophy underlying its foreign aid. Then came a new coinage in Japanese aid lingo: "recognition of interdependence" and "humanitarian consideration." Thus, also came grant aids or "sweeteners" to what were actually out-and-out commercial deals financed by ODA.

In the '80s, Japan began to enter a period of high economic growth and to emerge as the world's wealthiest (in terms of financial and physical assets) and largest creditor nation, even as other capitalist economies were mired in financial bankruptcy or stagnant growth. "(Japanese) responsibility as an economic power" was amplified to mean that "Japan should engage in economic cooperation for the purpose of economic and social development and promote the welfare of developing countries commensurate with its economic power." But concurrently, as the international debt crisis threatened to stoke the fires of social revolution in Third World countries and set aflame the world capitalist system sustained mainly by US and Japanese international finance capital, another role was assigned to Japanese ODA.

### **Strategic aid arrives**

At the US-Japan foreign ministerial talks prior to the summit meeting in 1985, the coordination of the foreign aid policies of the two countries with emphasis on strategic aid was highlighted in the agenda. The point was made clear when former US State Secretary George Shultz remarked: "We welcome the point that Japan is not only increasing the amount of ODA but also it is carrying it out, while taking into consideration aid to areas which are important for peace and stability in the world..."

Strategic aid, as articulated by the US, is "economic aid to developing and other nations which are in positions strategically important for the West, from the standpoint of security." Japan sees it as "such aid as to prevent recipient nations from becoming communized for such reasons as economic uneasiness, in the view of the US." (Translation by the US Embassy in Tokyo.)

Since 1978, the year Japan started its ODA doubling plan, the US has been urging the former to be forthright with strategic aid. But Japan had avoided it officially until its revised 1986-1992 ODA plan came into terms with "playing a role commensurate with its expanded national power to ensure world peace and stability (and its) membership in the industrialized world."

The ODA plan further stated: "As some of the causes of various disputes in developing regions are attributed to economic instability and difficulties including problems related to poverty, aid would consequently contribute to world peace and stability. It is increasingly necessary to make an approach of selecting the regions and countries from the viewpoint of contributing to the peace and stability of the international society."

Unmindful of such ODA rhetorics, Japan's military establishment was snappy enough to admit that Japan's "economic support for ASEAN, including its aid to the Philippines, is virtually strategic aid, with an eye to the Soviet Union's infiltration of the Indochina Peninsula."

### **Japan's ODA to the Philippines**

Still and all, Japan now stands as the biggest aid giver to the Philippines. From 1969 to 1987, the cumulative amount of Japan's ODA commitments to the Philippines reached 591.682 billion yen, over half of which had already been disbursed. For the first time in 1987, with a view to stabilizing the fledgling Aquino regime, Japan allocated the largest share (120.6 billion yen) out of its global ODA to the country.

Japan had contributed more than 50% of the total bilateral ODA the Philippines received in net disbursements in the last six years from about 18 donor countries. There is significance, therefore, in holding the pledging session for the Philippine Assistance Program or PAP in Tokyo this July. There, Japan promised to deliver \$2.602 billion out of the \$3.5 billion in pledges generated by PAP.

Hewing to the traditional bias of the Japanese aid program, Japan's ODA to the Philippines went mostly to the power and transportation sectors and commodity import financing in that order. The biggest project loans financed the construction of such infrastructures as the Extra High Voltage Transmission Line in Southern Luzon, Tongonan Geothermal Power Plant in Leyte, Leyte Geothermal Development Project II, Subic Ship Repair Yard, Southern Negros Geothermal Development and Cagayan Valley Rural Electrification.

Upon these project loans, bureaucrat capital under the Marcos regime flourished. Almost all public works contracts financed by yen loans were cornered or controlled by Marcos cronies and Japanese contractors became

## JAPAN'S ODA DISBURSEMENTS TO THE PHILIPPINES

Year	Grants		Loan Aid	Total	Total
	Grant Aid	Technical Cooperation			
					\$Million
1980	17.91	17.80	35.71	58.69	94.40 (4.8)
1981	23.32	21.65	44.97	165.08	210.05 (9.3)
1982	22.12	22.97	45.09	91.29	136.38 (5.8)
1983	35.84	26.13	61.97	85.05	147.02 (6.1)
1984	26.39	31.30	57.68	102.39	160.07 (6.6)
1985	39.96	29.75	69.71	170.29	240.00 (9.4)
1986	41.08	39.30	80.37	357.58	437.96(11.4)
1987	66.89	44.90	111.79	267.60	379.38 (7.2)

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate percentage share of total bilateral ODA

**SOURCE:** Japan's ODA 1986, 1988 Annual Reports  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, Japan

veritable sources of graft. It was said in the Japanese Diet (parliament) that without these loans, Marcos and his cronies would not have been able to amass and stash away that much fortune.

In its time, the Marcos regime saw to it that Japanese and other ODA also contributed to the building and consolidation of its bailiwicks. Eastern Visayas of the Romualdezes and Northern Luzon of the Marcoses always got the biggest chunks of ODA over the years.

Upon the ruins the Marcos regime left behind, Japan rebuilt its new ODA edifice. On the eve of the first anniversary of the assumption to power of the Aquino regime, Japan was proclaiming a new turning point in Philippine-Japan economic relations. In 1987, it made the Philippines the number one recipient of its ODA and redirected its ODA to critical areas in the Philippine economy. The Japanese Embassy in Manila described its new ODA tack as "envisioned to mitigate the Philippine foreign debt problem...and to help attain greater equity in income distribution for the alleviation of poverty." For the first time since 1969, Japan provided counterpart funding to project loans and a commodity loan, the proceeds of which may be diverted for budget support.

When former Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita paid a state visit to Manila in December 1987 to pledge continuing and increasing Japanese support to the Philippine economic recovery program, Aquino already knew how to warm the cockles of her guest's heart. Citing the vital role of US military bases in the Philippines in providing security to Southeast Asia, including Japan, Aquino said that Japan was also benefiting from the arrangement. "The Philippines, despite its trials and difficulties has never faltered in its own contribution to the security, peace and stability of Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region in general" and "these areas are as vital to Japan's own security and continued progress," she pointed out.

### ODA: Boon or bane?

After World War II, with the accommodation given by the US following the the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, Japan proceeded to reestablish its predominance in Asia.

In the Philippines, Japan conveniently used war reparations and project loans to cultivate the country as a backyard source of raw materials, dumping ground of machineries, transport equipment and other manufactures, and a field of investment of capital surplus within the semicolonial and semifeudal set-upfostered by the US.

In no time at all, Japan became the principal destination of Philippine copper concentrates, logs and lumber, and later bananas and sintered ore. At the very start, the RP-Japan Friendship Highway built on war reparations and yen loans literally became Japan's logging, mining and service road in the Philippines. Products and people were transported too, mostly on Japanese vehicles.

Philippine-Japan trade prospered, with Japan alternating with the US as the leading trading partner. But all at the country's expense. Again, Japanese government funds through the Export-Import Bank of Japan (EXIMBANK) were massively committed and disbursed for suppliers' credit for Japanese heavy machineries and technology export, import credits for Japanese corporations importing goods from the Philippines and buyers' credit coursed through the National Power Corporation (NPC) and Development Bank of the Philippines.

Consigned as it was as mere supplier of raw materials and buyer of finished products, the country's terms of trade deteriorated historically, and it incurred chronic trade deficits which in turn told heavily on its balance of payments position. Just for the first half of the '80s, its cumulative trade deficits with Japan had already amounted to \$13.095 billion, leveraged by \$987.92 million in Japanese ODA during the same period.

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## ODA: THE OFFICIAL VIEW

### Official development assistance (ODA)

1. Resources given to foreign entities by governments or their executive agencies.
2. Main objective is to promote the economic development and welfare of developing countries.
3. Concessional in character. Low-interest if given as loan. Has grant element (not to be paid back) of at least 25 per cent.
4. May be provided as capital grant assistance, technical cooperation, capital subscriptions and contributions to UN agencies and international financial institutions and government loans.
5. Internationally recognized as aid in the genuine sense.

### Other official flows (OOF)

1. Resources handled by Export-Import Bank of Japan for export credits and direct investments.
2. Not considered as official assistance in the genuine sense when used for export promotion and external investment of private corporations.

### Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund

The Japanese government institution in charge of ODA administration, i.e., disbursement, collection of repayments.

### Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

The sole Japanese government agency responsible for providing technical cooperation on government-to-government basis.

OECF and JICA are Japan's main instruments for extending ODA to developing countries.

**ODA framework.** From its beginnings as war reparations in the '50s, Japan's ODA built up into its present framework which consist of technical cooperation, yen loan and grant aid. In 1954, Japan was initiated into the Colombo Plan which dealt on technical cooperation with Southeast Asian countries. In 1958, yen loan was released for the first time with India as the first recipient. In 1968, food aid was launched, followed by general grant aid in 1969, grant aid for fisheries in 1974, grant aid for cultural activities in 1975, grant aid for disaster relief in 1976, and aid for increased food production in 1977. Multilateral aid, on the other hand, took form mainly as capital subscriptions to the World Bank Group and other international financial institutions such as the Asian Development Bank (1966) where its contribution amounted to nearly 50% of the bank's paid-in capital; African Development Bank (1973); and InterAmerican Development Bank (1976).

The main pillar of Japan's ODA framework is the yen loan. There are three major categories of yen loan, namely:

1. project loan - funds for development projects, i.e., highways, dams, irrigation systems;
2. commodity loan - funds for the importation of goods and services by recipient countries faced with foreign exchange shortfalls;
3. debt relief - emergency funds intended for re-financing and re-scheduling of debts of recipient countries with critical balance of payments position.

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Flowback in ODA or EXIMBANK-financed trade is anywhere near one-to-one. According to estimates by the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA), for every dollar Japan gives, it gets back up to \$0.90 in goods and services.

As in trade, Japan massively employed EXIMBANK loans to bolster its investment activities. Among the largest beneficiaries were Japanese corporations operating in the Philippines, namely: Philippine Sinter Corp. (sintered ore), 18 billion yen; PASAR (copper concentrates), 4.809 billion; Pilipinas Kao, Inc. (coconut oil processing), 4.206 billion; Biophil., Inc. (raw material for chemical seasoning), 2.822 billion; Pilipinas Engine Corporation (engine manufacturing), 2.395 billion; Philippine Shipyard and Engineering Corporation (ship repair), 2.206 billion; and Electro Alloys Corporation, 1.808 billion.

On top of trade profits, plus the return on these and other direct investments (\$913 million from 1951 to 1986), are interest payments to OECF (2.7 to 3%) and EXIMBANK loans and private borrowings (\$2.9 billion) from Japanese commercial banks (1 to 1-3/4 per cent over LIBOR, *see AB November 1987*), which all together are enhanced by the yen's appreciation in recent years.

### **Who's aiding whom?**

On balance, therefore, rather than induce net transfer of resources to aid in the genuine economic development of the country, Japanese ODA only enlarges and facilitates the net outflow of resources from the Philippines, serving no other purpose than to aggravate and perpetuate the country's semi-feudal and semicolonial status, in combination or in competition with the US'.

Moreover, to the extent Japanese ODA supports Japanese monopoly control over the country's mining and logging industries through trade and other marketing arrangements, it shares in the socio-ecological costs of exploiting the national patrimony. The people, rivers, mountains and forests of the Cordilleras, Cagayan Valley, Samar and the Agusan-Davao provinces have borne the brunt of such costs.

Now, the same Japanese ODA -- which in no small measure contributed to reducing the nation into penury and irreversible indebtedness and spreading havoc in its natural environ -- is being applied as a sweetener to IMF-World Bank impositions. In December 1987, for instance, OECF extended a 30-billion yen commodity loan to support Philippine "structural adjustment measures such as trade liberalization, tax and public works reform" demanded by the IMF-World Bank. In fact, as a whole, OECF yen loans are only released when the country's periodic development plan bears already the IMF-World Bank stamp of approval.

And now, as the Filipino people are revolted by their impoverished plight and are taking up arms to assert their national democratic aspirations, Japan is coordinating with the US on how best to provide ODA, otherwise known as strategic aid, to the Philippines. Now even funds and "infrastructures for counter-insurgency" being sent into or built in the country are blessed in the name of ODA.

Thus, a "situation is arising" whereby Japanese aid is used not only in the speedy appropriation of the nation's wealth but also in the joint suppression of the people's desire for genuine national independence, socio-economic emancipation and prosperity.

For sure, just like the US military bases in the Philippines, Japanese "development aid" will be properly dealt with by the broad anti-imperialist struggle and the national democratic movement. Already, the Party and the National Democratic Front have served notice to the Japanese government to suspend at this point in time the giving of ODA to the Aquino regime.

Japanese ODA should find its proper place in the anti-imperialist agenda of our time, along with the call for freedom from foreign military bases and freedom from foreign debt slavery.

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### **PAOMBONG MASSACRE: WASHING THE AQUINO REGIME'S BLOODY HANDS**

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One after the other, the Aquino regime expediently absolved the 42nd Marine Battalion elements who massacred civilians in Paombong, Bulacan and the Philippine Army soldiers who massacred civilians in Lupao, Nueva Ecija. The acts only exemplify the regime's hypocrisy on the issue of human rights.

And the message is starkly clear: however heinous the crime of its fascist minions is, the Aquino regime will just close its eyes for the benefit of counter-revolution. So much for peace advocacy and democratic pretensions!

For human rights advocates, the twin acquittal brings ominous tidings. On the other hand, it also offers a challenge -- to firm up one's resolve to expose and oppose any violence the regime commits any time against the people, no matter what.

#### **Truth in Paombong massacre**

From the very start, the people knew that the fascist marines did the loathsome massacre of nine civilians in Paombong, including a 13-year old girl and a 75-year old grandfather. But the regime was determined to cover up the incident. When the investigating body was formed, the intention was not to render justice to the victims but to wash the bloody hands of the marines.

There were many witnesses and pieces of evidence that can complete the picture of the incident and pinpoint to the marines as the culprits. The revolutionary movement, in fact, did its own investigation of the crime. We are quoting below the summary report of responsible comrades in Bulacan:

"Midnight of April 27, an NPA squad in sitio Maniknik, barrio San Jose, Paombong, in the province of Bulacan, came to know about the movement of marines in the area. The Red fighters immediately went on alert. After assessing the situation, they decided to leave the sitio to avoid encounter.

"April 28, 2:30 in the morning, the NPA squad was moving away from sitio Maniknik. The rearmost fighter was about 25 meters away from the house the squad came from. Momentarily, he noticed there were armed elements who were stalking the squad. He called on them. When the password was not answered, he immediately fired on them. The rest of the squad took position and rained fire on the armed elements who turned out to be members of the 42nd Marine Battalion. A marine was killed and some others were wounded.

"After a five-minute gunfight, the NPA unit safely withdrew.

"Upon learning of their casualties, the marines went wild in anger and vented it upon the fishermen in the house. They were lined up against the wall. Valeriano Bongcayao Sr., a veteran of the last war, was hit on the head with a shovel -- a cruelty he might not have gone through under the hands of the fascist Japanese. A few minutes later, barrio folks in sitio Maniknik heard gunshots amid cries of the fishermen."

According to a Party cadre in Bulacan, "the massacre is only one result of the AFP depredations in Bulacan under the 'Bulacan Triad' program." The counter-guerrilla campaign in the province intensified starting in September 1988. The military units already in place were reinforced by a brigade-size marine force comprising of the 1st, 2nd and 7th Marine Landing Teams. The 42nd Marine Battalion had just arrived in the province on April 27, eve of the massacre.

But the revolutionary forces were far from being overwhelmed. Instead, they were delivering blows against the enemy. Hell broke loose in AFP following the ambush of a Philippine Marine contingent in the town of San Ildefonso last April 4 by the NPA. In this operation in which landmines were employed, about 30 marines perished.

"Like in Lupao, for every AFP defeat dealt with by the NPA, the AFP takes revenge upon unarmed barrio folks," an NPA commander in Bulacan notes. Soldiers of the Phil. Army massacred 19 civilians in Lupao, Nueva Ecija in February 1987 after suffering casualties from an encounter with NPA guerrillas.

#### **Fascist violence getting more ferocious**

The Paombong massacre is one more link to the long chain of brutal fascist violence of the AFP against the Filipino people. At the altar of anti-communism, hundreds, even thousands of Filipinos are unconscionably being sacrificed by the regime's hatchetmen.

Even before the Paombong massacre, more than 250 cases of massacre had already been reported within only three years of Aquino rule -- the more notorious of these are the massacres in Mendiola and in Lupao, Nueva Ecija. In these mass murders, it is estimated that there were about 670 killed apart from 434 wounded, a blood-curdling record. (SEE CHART)

Just as brutal is the individual killing usually perpetrated by vigilante and death squads -- murderers on AFP leash. They have already murdered many nationalist mass leaders. Since October 1987, six human rights lawyers have already been killed. Even church people are not being spared; nine of them were mercilessly killed in Mindanao alone.

Meanwhile, indiscriminate bombing, strafing, food and economic blockades against areas suspected as NPA guerilla bases have become a policy of the Aquino regime. Peasant masses, minorities and other residents in affected areas are being forcibly evacuated. Consequently, from January to June 1989 only, 200,000 internal refugees have surfaced -- Filipinos who were driven out of their own lands and homes due to AFP military operations.

The case of Sipalay, Candoni and other places in southern Negros Occidental is a prominent example. Under "Oplan Thunderbolt", the regime in the months of April-May unleashed the full force of AFP's fascist violence. For weeks, mountainous barrios were outrightly bombed and strafed. About 30,000 residents in target areas were forcibly evacuated. More than 100 babies and kids died owing to the harsh condition.

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## HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS UNDER THE US-AQUINO REGIME

Period: March 1986 - November 1988

Source: Task Force Detainees

	1986	1987	1988	TOTAL
NO. OF ARRESTED PERSONS	1,234	8,367	2,310	11,911
NO. OF SALVAGE VICTIMS	197	267	241	705
NO. OF FRUSTRATED SALVAGING VICTIMS	23	36	29	88
NO. OF MASSACRES	101	98	62	261
No. of killed	288	231	151	670
No. of wounded	39	293	102	434
NO. OF TORTURE VICTIMS	438	602	636	1,676
NO. OF MISSING VICTIMS	62	52	110	224
NO. OF FORCED EVACUATIONS	34	158	91	283
No. of affected individuals	1,026	11,009	8,519	20,554
No. of affected families	2,064	18,706	16,362	37,132
No. of affected sitios	5	3	38	46
No. of affected barangays	11	8	45	64

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### The regime's hypocrisy

Despite the lengthening record and ever-increasing ferocity of human rights abuses which today are being condemned even by international humanitarian organizations, the regime is still shamelessly declaring its unflickering adherence to "democracy and peace", and saying that if ever there are human rights abuses, these are solely the handiwork of "communist rebels."

But when cornered by concrete cases of abuses like the Paombong massacre and the Negros Occidental bombing, it concocts various excuses to rationalize them.

The Paombong massacre is "a job that has to be done," said Lt. Custodio Parcon, leader of the marines who committed the crime. This was corroborated by the group tasked by the regime to investigate the crime. According to the group, there is no "competent and reliable evidence" that those killed were victims of torture and massacre; the mass killing was simply "inevitable." The group's judgment: the marines are innocent.

The depredations of "Thunderbolt" in Sibalay, Negros Occidental were hailed as resounding victories which should be appropriately celebrated, according to Gen. Renato de Villa, AFP chief. These are "necessary social costs" to attain progress, said Lacson, the provincial governor. "We didn't force them. The civilians voluntarily evacuated when we started bombing," a disgusting utterance by an AFP official in Negros.

Amid the indefensible human rights record and argumentation of the Aquino regime, an establishment propagandist unabashedly admitted that the "anti-insurgency war" is impossible to win without violating human rights.

She hit the nail right on the head -- that massacres like those in Paombong and Lupao and other human rights violations are concomitant with the "total war" program to "defeat the rebels by 1991."

Of course, it is altogether a different matter if the "total war", including its massacres and depredations, can really win the "anti-insurgency war." Or has the Aquino regime forgotten too soon the fate that befell its predecessor?

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### **NDF VOWS TO CONTINUE UNFINISHED WORK OF COMRADES SATUR & BOBBIE**

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*Following is a statement issued on July 30 by the National Council of the National Democratic Front on the arrest of Satur Ocampo and Bobbie Malay-Ocampo on July 27 in Makati, Metro Manila.*

The entire National Democratic Front of the Philippines salutes comrades Satur Ocampo and Carolina Malay-Ocampo for their courage and steadfastness in the hands of the enemy. We are one with them in expressing confidence and determination in the continuing advance and eventual victory of the people's revolutionary struggle for national independence and democracy.

While the enemy boasted that their arrest was a "major breakthrough" in defeating the revolutionary movement, Satur and Bobbie knew it was all bluster. Despite intense and vicious attacks by the US-Aquino regime, the revolutionary forces under the NDF have not only maintained their strength but have made vigorous headway, especially since the start of 1989.

The NDF, however, is deeply saddened by the fact that two fine comrades, who have made valuable contributions to the people's struggle, have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The sadness is surely felt by all those who share the dream of independence, democracy, social justice and lasting peace that Satur and Bobbie have helped in bringing closer to realization.

Only the US imperialists and their puppets, only those who support US domination and control of the country, the retention of US military bases, the impositions of the IMF and the World Bank, the feudal and semifeudal bondage in the countryside, the massive corruption in the bureaucracy and the total war against the Filipino people, could be elated that these two patriots and fighters for freedom are no longer free to pursue their work for the people.

We are appalled that some who claim to be liberals and to have the people's interests at heart could say that the fascists responsible for the arrest of Satur and Bobbie deserve commendation, that this is a "big psychological blow" to the revolutionary movement, or that this could lead the country closer to peace.

The arrest of Satur and Bobbie comes at a time when the NDF is offering a serious and bold proposal to the Aquino regime and to the nation -- a proposal to declare a unilateral ceasefire should the Aquino government adopt a policy of terminating the US-RP Military Bases Agreement by 1991 and not entering into a new bases treaty.

Despite great risks to their security, these two comrades left the revolutionary base in the countryside for a while and went to the capital city to work on the NDF proposal. Not only has the Aquino regime treated this proposal with the arrogance of one wielding a big stick and with a total lack of sincerity -- by demanding that the revolutionary forces first lay down their arms before peace talks could be held; it has also shown that its disgusting subservience to US imperialism -- in this instance, its eagerness to show off a prize catch to please its imperialist master -- overrides any concern for peace and destroys any opportunity for peace.

Because the Aquino government has failed to address the fundamental problems of the Filipino people which lie at the root of mass unrest and armed conflict, it has to relentlessly hunt down people like Satur and Bobbie who work for a comprehensive solution to these problems.

But it is futile for Mrs. Aquino to spend millions of pesos to capture those "rebels" onto whom she must shift the blame for the failures of her own government. The crisis which her regime is sinking deeper into everyday cannot be resolved. The crisis is deep -- rooted in the semicolonial and semifeudal system of exploitation, in the oppressive and reactionary ruling system, which the Aquino regime enforces and perpetuates. This whole system and those who preside over it are headed for collapse.

"This is the beginning of the end of the CPP-NPA," gloat Mrs. Aquino's fascist minions. But the gloating will be brief and the words are turning out to be uncannily accurate, not for the revolutionary front, but for the Aquino regime and the rotten social system.

This year the spectre of economic bankruptcy and mendicancy, fascist repression, and moral decay -- more sordid than during the Marcos years -- has driven away whatever is left of the so-called "Cory magic." Big waves of mass protest arising from widespread discontent and significant victories of the New People's Army signal bigger revolutionary storms that will shake the foundations of reactionary rule and hasten its collapse.

It is clear to the revolutionary forces and people that the tactical relief gained by the ruling system after EDSA is fast disappearing and that it is up to them to transform the very favorable conditions into major victories for the national democratic revolution.

Imprisonment cannot isolate Satur and Bobbie from the revolutionary struggle and prevent them from contributing to its advancement. In particular, they can continue to push for and explain the anti-imperialist proposal for peace of the NDF as well as its overall program. All those who are interested in this proposal are welcome to approach Satur and Bobbie, discuss with them and work with them in the pursuit of a just and lasting peace for our country and people. These efforts will complement the bigger initiatives of the NDF leadership in this area.

The leaders and members of the National Democratic Front are determined to take up the responsibilities that our comrades Satur and Bobbie had to leave behind and to raise to a higher level the revolutionary work they have helped to develop. We are optimistic that the time will surely come when they shall be free again to fully use their talents and energies for the revolutionary cause.

Mabuhay kayo, Kasamang Satur at Bobbie!  
Isulong ang pambansa-demokratikong rebolusyon hanggang sa tagumpay!

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### **CPP CENTRAL COMMITTEE EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER RECENT EVENTS IN CHINA**

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On behalf of the Filipino people and on its own behalf, the Communist Party of the Philippines expresses deepest regrets and grief to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people over the tragic event on June 4, in which hundreds of civilians and troops were killed and thousands injured in Beijing, and in the events which followed.

This bloody incident is a matter of serious concern for the proletarian revolutionaries and the entire people of the world, even as we appropriately consider the event, the circumstances leading to it and those following it as basically an internal matter for China to settle.

We observe that although counter-revolutionary agents were definitely involved in the mass demonstrations in Tiananmen Square and elsewhere in China, the overwhelming majority of participants were a wide array of students, low-income intellectuals and working people expressing their grievances and demands.

It is up to China, its people and leaders, especially the Communist Party of China, to determine the root cause of the widespread social unrest that has been going on and has resulted in crisis, bloody turmoil and tragedy.

Socialist China is at an important crossroads. The entire nation is going through a process of analyzing to what extent the mass unrest has been caused by errors in policy and, possibly, in line in socialist construction; what exactly has been brought about by counter-revolutionary sabotage by capitalist powers and Chinese reactionaries; and what can be attributed to the continuing imperfections, limitations and difficulties in building socialism.

In this process, one fundamental concern that China shares with other revolutionaries all over the world is whether the emphasis given to foreign investments, capitalist practices and close relations with the capitalist powers, especially the US, in China's program of socialist modernization is correct, both as a matter of principle and as a practical method of achieving rapid economic growth.

We condemn the efforts of the United States and other capitalist powers to intervene in Chinese affairs and manipulate Chinese counter-revolutionaries, capitalist-roaders and Right opportunists.

The imperialists and all sorts of reactionaries all over the world, including our Aquinos, Ramoses and Sins, are gloating over this unfortunate development in China, branding this as proof of the failure of Marxism and socialism. They distort, exaggerate, if not outrightly fabricate, news reports that tend to show that socialism is oppressive of the Chinese people and is in turn hated by them. They seek to manipulate both the socio-economic crisis and the outrightly capitalist elements in the economic base and bourgeois liberal influences in the superstructure, as they try to overthrow the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China.

But all these will surely fail. China has been tempered and steeled in the past four decades of socialist revolution and construction, not discounting the many decades of revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Historical experience has shown the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people that socialism is the only path to salvation and progress.

It is socialism that has enabled China to rise from the abyss of national shame and indignity, backwardness, poverty and inequality to become the strong, modern and powerful nation that it is today -- in the front ranks of the nations of the world in the areas of social equality, industrial growth, agricultural development and all-round social progress. Under the proletarian dictatorship, economic upliftment and socialist democracy become a reality more and more.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we extend firm support to the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of the people in China in their struggle to uphold the four cardinal principles of keeping to the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, leadership by the Communist Party, and using Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as their guiding light.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is confident that the Chinese people and government under the leadership of the Communist Party of China will be able to surmount the present crisis, rectify errors to further strengthen socialism, defeat counter-revolution, further raise their anti-imperialist vigilance, and move forward on the road of socialism under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

**Central Committee  
Communist Party of the Philippines  
July 8, 1989**

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### **NICARAGUAN PEOPLE REMAIN STEADFAST AGAINST US IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION**

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*"Nicaragua will be free so long as she has children who love her."*

- Augusto Cesar Sandino (1895-1934)  
Nicaragua's National Hero

A decade has passed since the Nicaraguan people ousted the brutal US-backed Somoza dictatorship. On July 19, 1979, amid the cheers and jubilation of the Nicaraguan people, forces of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (named after Sandino, Nicaragua's popular hero) victoriously entered Managua, the capital of Nicaragua. Their triumphant march marked the end of US neocolonial rule over Nicaragua and 43 years of plunder and terror by the Somoza family dynasty.

However, this small Central American country with a population of some 3.5 million people and an area about half the size of the Philippines, is now engaged in a new fight to overcome renewed obstacles and challenges to its struggle for national reconstruction and revolutionary transformation. In the past ten years, US imperialism has not ceased in its attempt to regain its domination over Nicaragua.

#### **US military and economic war**

"The United States government still hasn't decided to be respectful of the rights of the nations of the Third World," said Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega to a cheering crowd of about 250,000 people gathered in the Carlos Fonseca Square in Managua to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution.

To be sure, US imperialism has used every opportunity to malign and blame the Sandinista-led government for the serious economic problems currently confronting the country. At the root of this vicious propaganda campaign to trumpet the "failure of the Nicaraguan revolution" is US imperialism's fear that a successful Nicaraguan revolution will only serve as another shining example for other peoples striving for national liberation and democracy.

In fact, it is the US government which is primarily to blame for worsening the current economic and political travails of Nicaragua. In 1979, as the triumphant Nicaraguan people started to rebuild their economy which was left in ruins by the dictator Somoza and his clique of big capitalists and landlords who had subsequently fled the country, the US government began its destructive military and economic war on Nicaragua.

Under Reagan's leadership, the US government imposed an economic and trade embargo on the suffering country. Then, the US Central Intelligence Agency organized, funded and armed counter-revolutionary forces known as the Contras from among the remnants of the Somoza National Guard and ruling clique. From their bases in Honduras and Costa Rica, the Contras launched sporadic raids on Nicaraguan territory, killing people, terrorizing peasants into abandoning their farms, destroying crops ready for harvesting, and blowing up bridges, storage facilities and other farm infrastructures. In 1984, the CIA mined Nicaragua's harbors to disrupt the flow of goods in and out of the country. To further intimidate the new government, the United States conducted several joint military exercises with Honduras near the

Nicaraguan border.

All these actions have taken a heavy toll on the country. The economy suffers from hyperinflation, shortages of food and other consumer and industrial items, scarcity of foreign exchange needed in the importation of essential commodities, low production and unemployment. The brutal Contra war has resulted in 50,000 Nicaraguans killed and in some \$12 billion losses to the economy since 1981. To compound economic woes, Contra attacks have forced the Nicaraguan government to set aside a big amount (about 50% of the annual budget) of its limited resources for defense expenditures, preventing the government from allocating a bigger amount for economic development, agrarian reform, education, health and other social services.

### **Advances despite odds**

However, despite such problems, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has managed to institute significant changes in Nicaraguan society. A genuine agrarian reform program was immediately implemented and has undergone improvement through the years. By end-1987, the program had already benefited some 120,000 peasant families. A countrywide literacy campaign was launched to significantly reduce the illiteracy rate from 50% in 1978 to 13% by 1984. Education was given top priority. The number of students increased from 501,660 in 1978 to 1,127,428 by 1984. Pre-school enrollment also went up from 9,000 in 1978 to 70,000 in 1984. The total number of teachers rose from 12,706 in 1978 to 53,398 as of 1984.

A health campaign was also initiated especially in the countryside to combat diseases and to lessen mortality rate. Infant mortality (per 1,000 births) was reduced from 121 in 1978 to 72 in 1984. The number of physicians increased from 1,309 in 1977 to 2,172 in 1984; while the number of clinics rose from 177 in 1977 to 487 in 1984. Problems of malnutrition and hunger were given full attention. Long-term projects, geared towards increasing agricultural production and promoting industrialization, were started with the help of friendly countries.

Today, the Nicaraguan people have neutralized the counter-revolutionary Contra forces. There is relative peace in the countryside where Contra forces used to spread havoc and terror. The generally peaceful conditions in the whole country have given the Nicaraguan people the opportunity to rebuild their farms and to open new ones, enabling them to increase production of food crops to meet Nicaragua's food requirements and of export crops to boost the country's foreign exchange earnings.

International public opinion has put pressure on the US government to end its support to the counter-revolutionary Contras and to respect Nicaragua's sovereignty. But the US government has not stopped pursuing its illusion of regaining imperialist hegemony over Nicaragua.

### **Combating US imperialism's latest design**

US imperialism's latest scheme is to support and fund opposition groups -- composed mainly of big capitalists and landlords -- inside Nicaragua with an eye on the national elections in February next year. The US government under newly-elected President George Bush is hoping that Nicaragua's current economic difficulties will result in mass discontentment and the erosion of popular support for the Sandinista leaders, eventually paving the way for an electoral victory of the US-backed opposition forces come February.

The Nicaraguan people will certainly thwart this latest conspiracy of US imperialism and its puppets. They are now masters of their own destiny and proudly stand supreme in their own country. And they continue to cherish Nicaragua's proud tradition of struggle against US intervention and of devotion to national sovereignty and dignity.

The patriotic spirit of Benjamin Zeledon's valiant stand against the US Marines in 1912, of Augusto Cesar Sandino's glorious struggle against the US occupation forces from 1927 to 1933, and of the FSLN-led popular insurrection against the US-Somoza regime in 1979 lives on in today's Nicaragua. It is this spirit of patriotism, sacrifice, courage and determination which keeps the Nicaraguan people united and steadfast in defense of their country's national sovereignty and honor, in their battle to overcome Nicaragua's current economic problems and in continuing the revolutionary transformation of their society.

Just as the FSLN had depended on the active support of the Nicaraguan masses during their victorious insurrection against the Somoza dictatorship, the Nicaraguan government today has correctly relied on the creativity, initiative and active support of the popular sectors of Nicaraguan society, in its drive to fulfill the goals of the Nicaraguan revolution in the period of transition towards socialism.

A commentary in *Barricada*, a daily paper of the FSLN, sums up the characteristics of the period of transition the Nicaraguan revolution is living through: "It is characterized by the marches and countermarches, the steps forward and steps backward, that have to be taken during the transition; by the policy of alliances that must be established; by the role of the state; and above all, by the dominant position of the popular sectors."

It further states: "What revolutions really do during this period is precisely to exist, to strengthen the revolutionary process, and to counteract the aggression they are victims of. And they must have very flexible positions during this period, utilizing all possible openings to move forward in building the new society."

The continuing saga of the Nicaraguan people has won the admiration and support of freedom-loving peoples in the world. The national democratic movement in the Philippines has gained valuable lessons from the revolutionary experiences of the FSLN in their victorious struggle against the US-Somoza regime and follows with keen interest and sympathy the process the Nicaraguan revolution has been going through since 1979. With the support of socialist countries and other anti-imperialist countries and forces everywhere, the Nicaraguan revolution will surely move forward and reap new and greater victories in the years ahead.

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